

# A DICTIONARY OF VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

RAYMOND HICKEY



WILEY Blackwell



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# Preface

The present dictionary is intended as a tool for students and scholars alike. Essentially, this book contains two types of definition: (i) varieties of English and the regions/countries where these are spoken and (ii) terms and concepts from the linguistic analysis of varieties. The book is intended to give information about present-day varieties around the world, but in order to do this some historical facts must also be covered, both for English in England and at other locations. The time depth for varieties stretches back a few centuries, to the beginning of the colonial period. A discussion of English spoken before then, roughly before 1600, properly belongs in histories of the English language, rather than in treatments of varieties. However, there are some references in this book to variation in English prior to the seventeenth century where this throws light on later developments.

All varieties of English are essentially sets of varieties and more fine-grained treatments of these are found in individual studies (see the Reference Guide) which reveal many more levels of detail than can be covered here. Nonetheless, the purpose of the definitions is that readers appreciate the broad picture. Many statements in the dictionary entries are true as a first approximation and are useful in delimiting groups of varieties. For instance, Southern Hemisphere Englishes have a raising of short front vowels when compared to Northern Hemisphere Englishes in general. However, in Australian English the vowel in words like *bat*, *sat*, *pat* has been lowered in recent decades, representing a trend in the opposite direction to the overall picture (Cox 2012 [8.1]).

A further point is that by its very nature a dictionary treats its subject matter as a collection of discrete entities. However, the reality of the subject matter may well be different. In the present case the varieties of English which are listed individually are not always clearly separated from each other. It is more common for speakers to position themselves on a continuum whose extremes are represented by the most vernacular and the least vernacular forms of their English. Indeed many speakers deliberately move along this continuum depending on the nature or purpose of a specific situation.

The rise of varieties of English is essentially about language change as no variety is identical to its historical source. This change took place both internally in speech communities and through contact with others at the locations where new varieties arose. Matters concerning language contact and change are thus dealt with throughout the present book.

An effort has been made in this dictionary to indicate the directions of research in variety studies so that students can appreciate what research avenues are currently topical should they be considering pursuing their studies in varieties of English. The introduction concentrates on research questions and many definitions address these as well.

There is a website accompanying the present book which can be accessed at <http://www.uni-due.de/SVE>. There, readers will find more information, especially visual material – maps, charts, tables – which supplements what is available here. There is also a special text file that contains more definitions and references which were too late for the present edition. This file can be accessed under ‘Dictionary update’ and is continually updated.

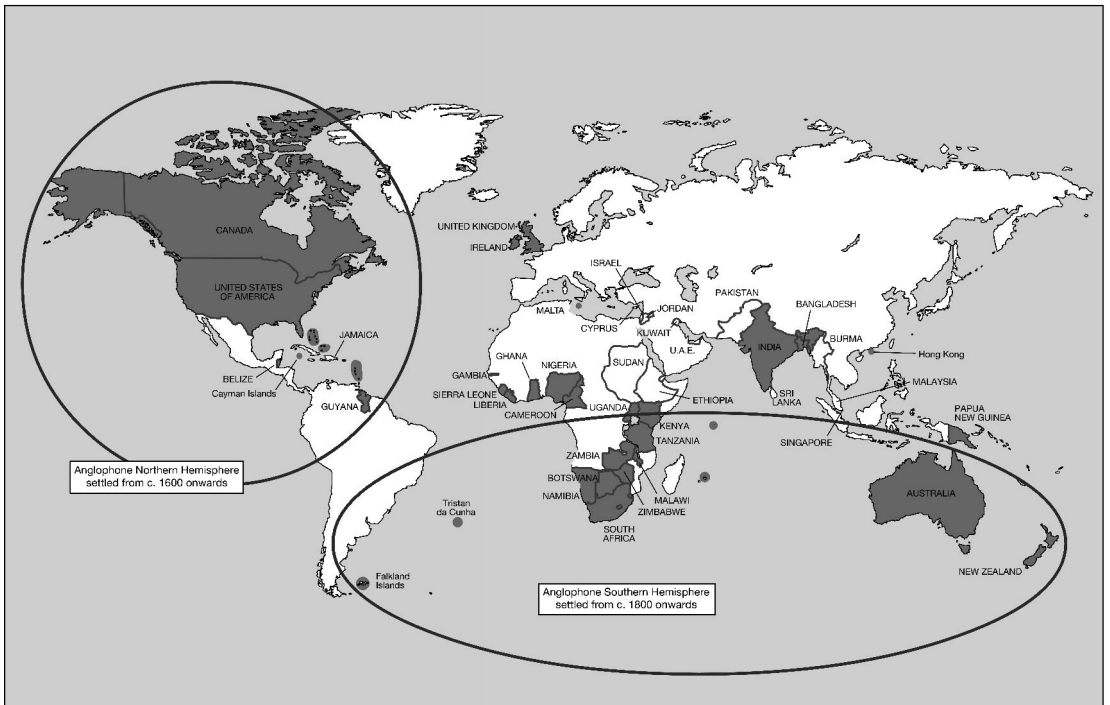
Towards the end of this book there is a structured bibliography for varieties of English. Much of the literature there is referenced in the dictionary definitions as well as in the introduction.

A book such as this cannot be written by a single author without help from colleagues. Some responded to a request to check entries with a few lines, some with extensive commentaries and corrections. So I would like to thank the following scholars who checked definitions from their fields of expertise and helped me reach more accurate definitions: Bridget Anderson, Joan Beal, Ian Bekker, Carolin Biewer, Kingsley Bolton, Thorsten Brato, David Britain, Kate Burrige, Jack Chambers, Sandra Clarke, Felicity Cox, Mark Davies, David Denison, Stefan Dollinger, Matt Gordon, Ulrike Gut, Stephanie Hackert, John Holm, Magnus Huber, Claudia Lange, Kevin McCafferty, Derrick McClure, Gunnel Melchers, Rajend Mesthrie, Joybrato Mukherjee, Heinrich Ramisch, Jonnie Robinson, Josef Schmied, Edgar Schneider, Dani Schreier, Devyani Sharma, Clive Upton, Bertus van Rooy and Jeffrey Williams. In addition my thanks go to two anonymous reviewers who also provided essential feedback on the pre-final manuscript.

Last but not least I would like to thank the staff at Wiley Blackwell. In particular, Julia Kirk and Danielle Descoteaux were very helpful and provided much support and advice at various stages in the writing and production of this book. My thanks also go to Leah Morin for her competent handling of the book in its final stages before going to print.

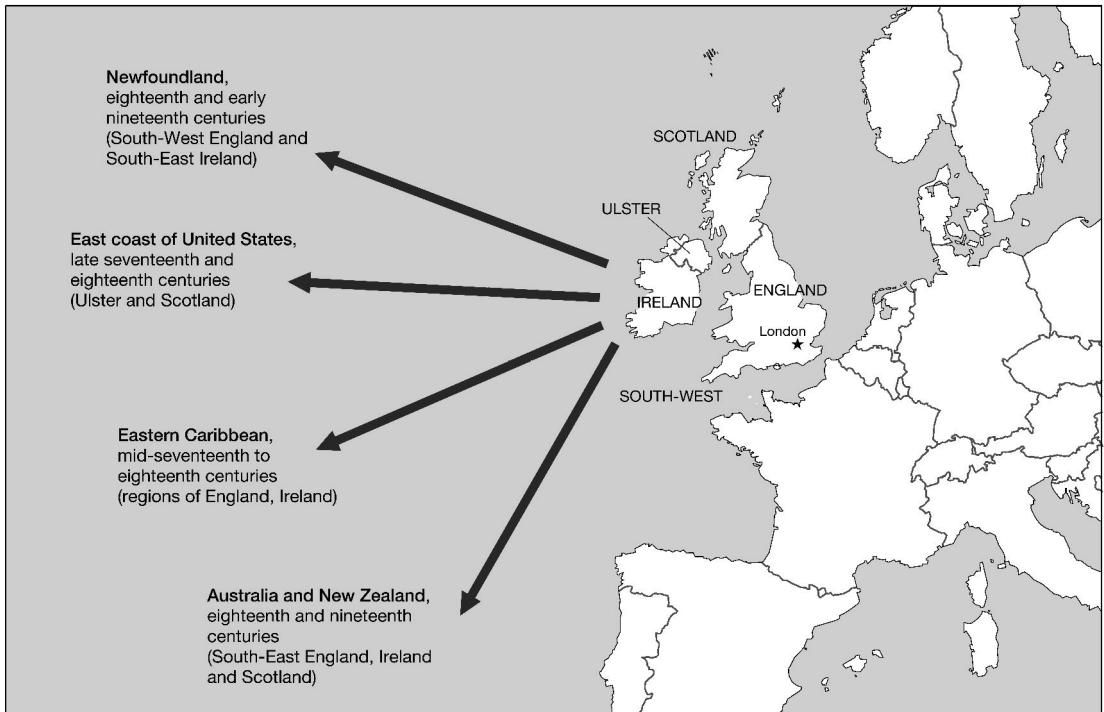
Raymond Hickey  
April 2013





**Map 1** The division of the anglophone world according to time of settlement.

*Note:* Countries where English is spoken as a first language are shown in grey.



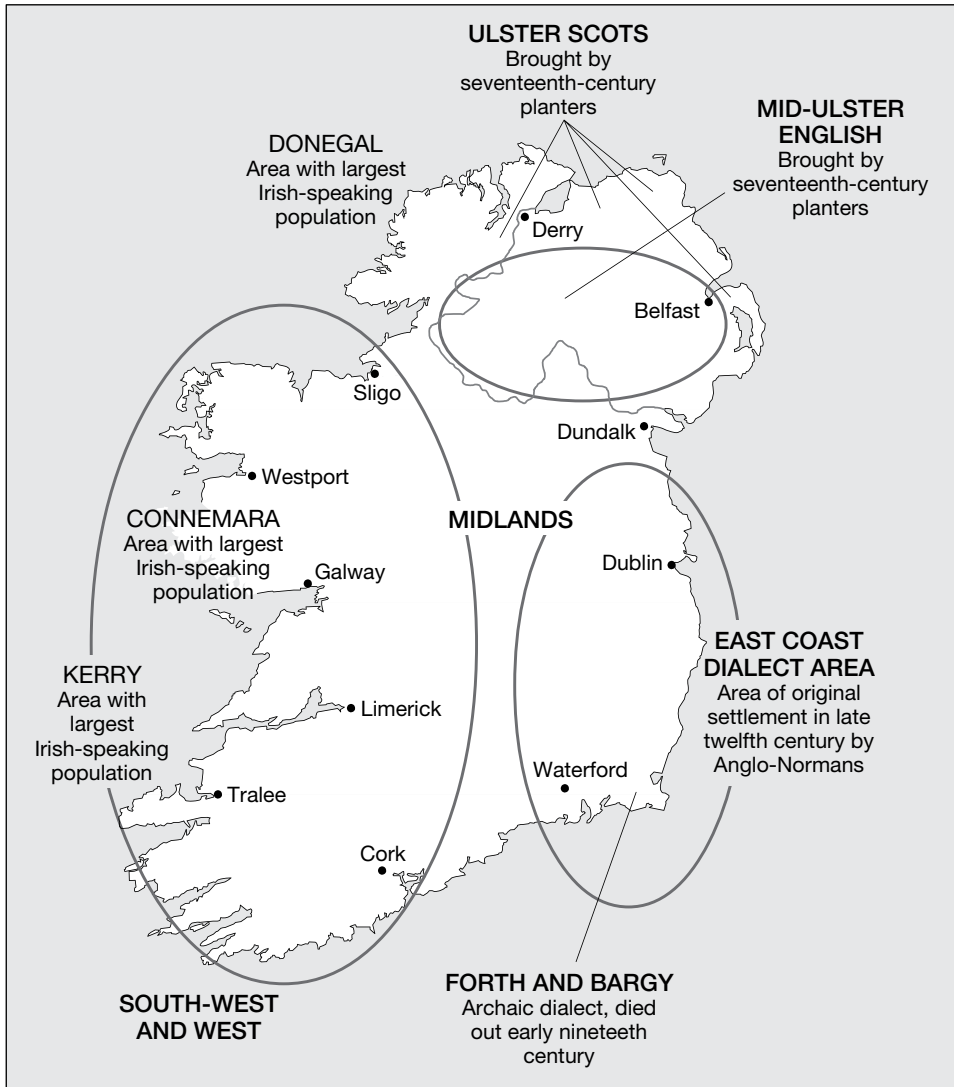
**Map 2** Regional emigration overseas from England, Scotland and Ireland.



**Map 3** London, the Home Counties and broad dialect regions of England.



**Map 4** The dialect areas of Scotland.



**Map 5** The dialect areas of Ireland.

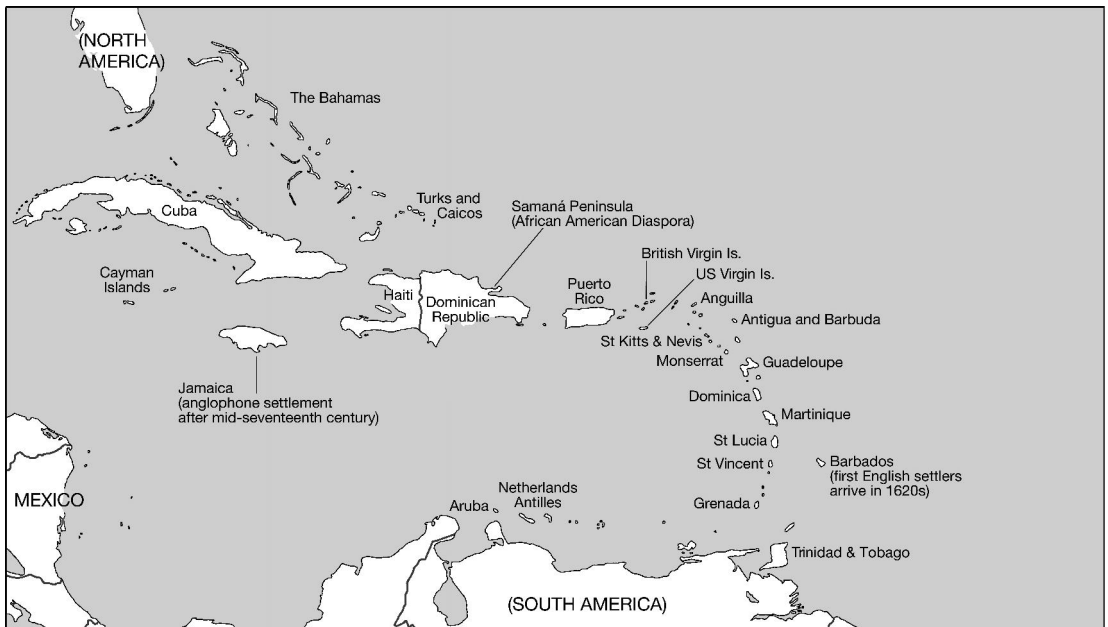


**Map 6** Dialect regions of the United States.





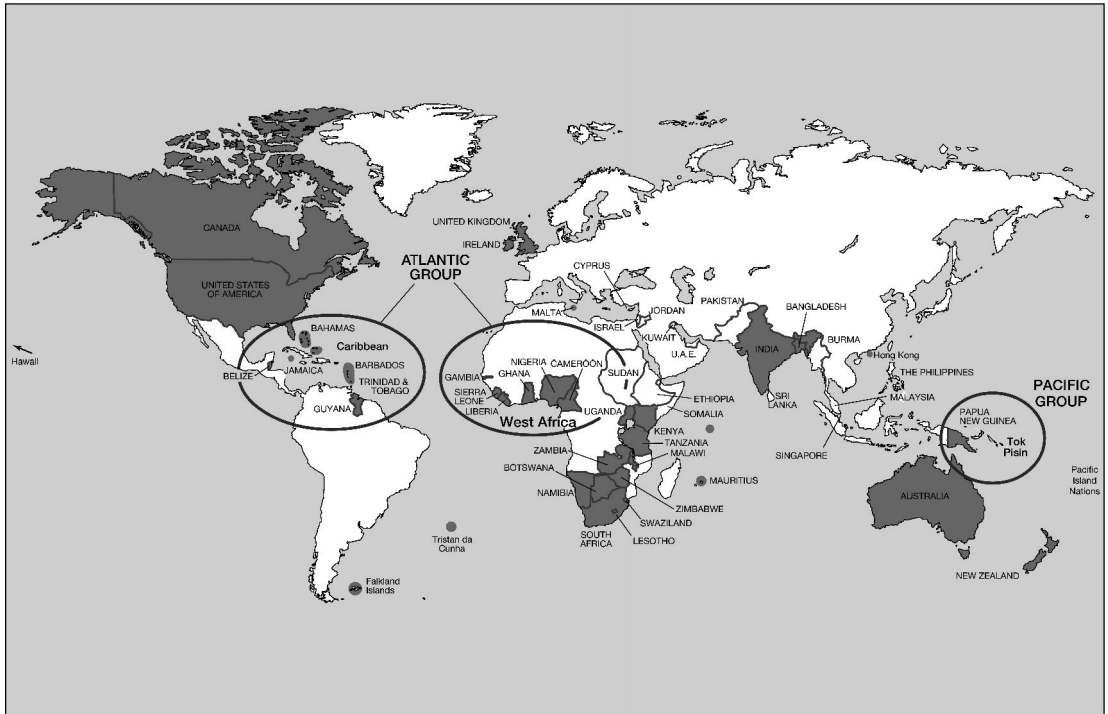
**Map 7** Dialect regions of Canada.



**Map 8** Anglophone regions of the Caribbean.



**Map 9** Anglophone regions of Africa.



**Map 10** Areas of the world with pidgins and creoles.

*Note:* Countries where English is spoken as a first language are shown in grey.



**Map 11** Settlement of South Africa in the nineteenth century.

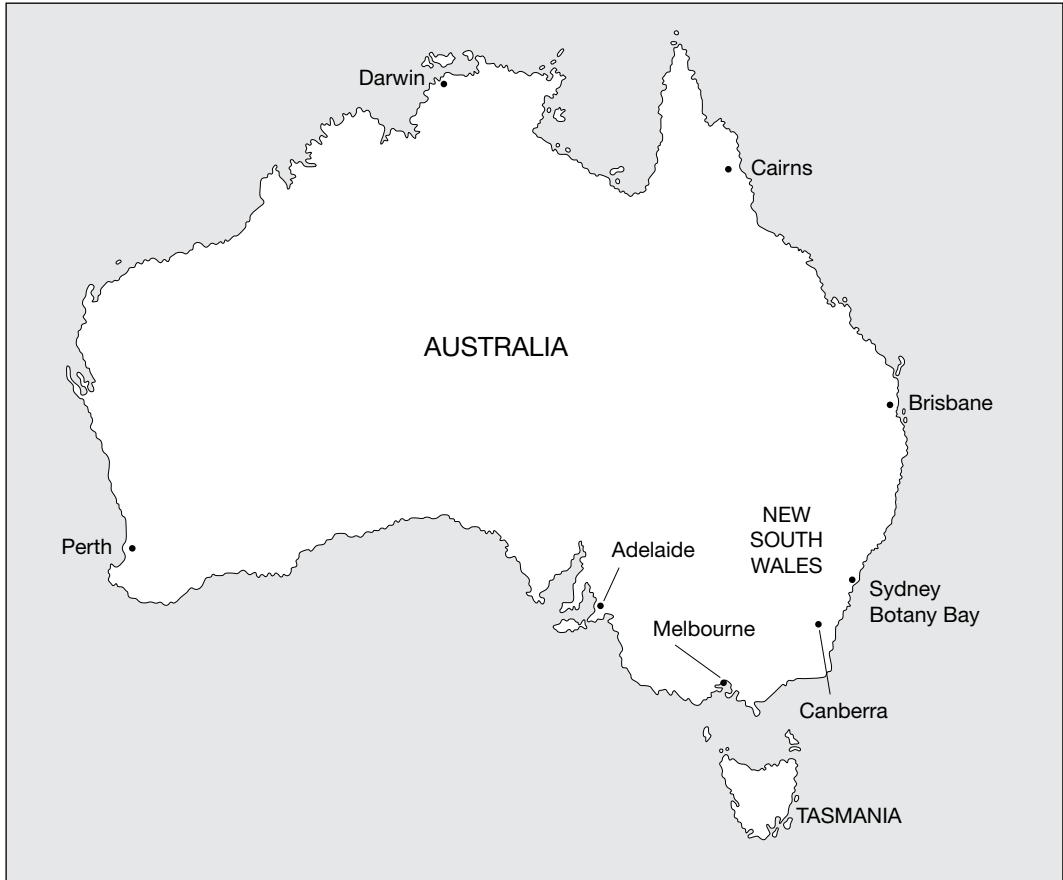


**Map 12** The anglophone regions of South Asia.





**Map 13** The anglophone regions of South-East Asia.



**Map 14** Australia.



**Map 15** New Zealand.



# Introduction

## *Research Trends in Variety Studies*

The following overview is intended to give an impression of the fields in which a large group of scholars throughout the anglophone world are active, all working under the umbrella of variety studies. The term ‘variety’ refers to any form of English recognizably different from others. This very broad definition covers forms which exist at one location, for example English in London, and others which have arisen through transportation of English during the colonial period, say Canadian or South African English. Importantly, the term ‘variety’ also refers to modern forms of English which, irrespective of their background, have developed due to sociolinguistic forces operating today, for example language in cities such as Chicago, Detroit or Pittsburgh.

### Expansion of English in the Colonial Period

The forms of English taken to overseas locations during the colonial period – roughly from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries – developed in specific ways. This depended on such factors as regional English input, demographic composition of early settlers, social status of the settlers relative to each other, conditions at the overseas locations, particularly whether the latter developed to become independent nations with their own standards of English (Hickey ed., 2012 [1.3]). In this sense the study of varieties of English is closely linked to *new dialect formation* (Trudgill 1986 [1.2.3], 2004 [1.2.6]; Hickey ed., 2003 [1.2]), the rise of new dialects from a mixture of inputs at locations outside the British Isles. Here examining possible historical connections between older and newer varieties plays a major role.

The development of overseas varieties of English and their relationship to regional dialects in England, Scotland and Ireland has been examined in depth recently, see the volumes on English overseas (Burchfield ed., 1994 [1.5]) and on English in North America (Algeo ed., 2001b [5.1]) in the *Cambridge History of the English Language* and Hickey (ed., 2004c [10.2]). Issues concerning English in a global context has been served well by many book-length publications

(Kortmann *et al.* eds, 2008a [1]; Kirkpatrick ed., 2012 [7]; Kortmann & Lunkenheimer eds, 2012 [1]) and there are quality journals dedicated to this subject, such as *English World Wide*, 1980– (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), with an accompanying book series. The role of English as a lingua franca and questions surrounding language attitudes and identities have been the focus of many studies (Crystal 2003, 2010 [10]; Jenkins 2007 [10]; Ostler 2011 [10]).

## Varieties Studies and Language Change

Studying varieties of English is closely connected with the study of language change. The reason is that the very different conditions in different parts of the English-speaking world have led to divergent outcomes. The range of scenarios provides the opportunity to consider how language change occurs under specific conditions. The most comprehensive work in this field is Labov (1994–2010, 3 vols [1.2]). The study of varieties of English involves a historical dimension as well: the nature of English in England, Scotland and Ireland in the early modern and late modern periods, sixteenth / seventeenth and eighteenth / nineteenth centuries respectively, is crucial to the rise of overseas varieties (Hickey ed., 2004c [10.2]; Tagliamonte 2013 [10.2]). Furthermore, the varieties involved are nearly always non-standard; indeed in earlier centuries it is difficult to say just what constituted standard English in Britain and whether it was used by those who left to settle overseas.

## Language Variation and Change

Research into varieties of English is closely associated with the research agenda known as *language variation and change*, which investigates the manner in which variation in language use leads to established change, driven largely by social factors, but tempered by the nature of language structure, that is by internal factors (Kiesling 2011 [1.2.1]; Chambers & Schilling (eds, 2013 [1]). This approach is in its turn embedded in the larger field of sociolinguistics (Bayley & Lucas eds, 2007 [1.1.1]; Tagliamonte 2006 [1.1.4], 2012 [1.1.1]). The development of sociolinguistics in the twentieth century is due primarily to the pioneering work of William Labov who in the 1960s carried out seminal studies (above all, that published as Labov 2006 [1966] [5.1.4]) which provided the methodological framework for most sociolinguistic investigations since. Labov has also concerned himself with the application of insights from sociolinguistics to the history of English (see Labov 1981 [1.2], 2007 [1.2]), as well as with the statistical methods of sociophonetics in the analysis of variation and change (see Thomas 2011 [1.1.6] for an introduction to sociophonetics). Issues in sociolinguistics and style have also been centre stage in recent research (Eckert & Rickford eds, 2001 [1]). The nature of communities of practice is a main concern in Eckert (2000 [1.1.13]). A further focus of recent scholarly activity has been the issue of language and social identity, see Edwards (2009 [1.1.16]) and Llamas & Watt (eds, 2010 [1.1.16]).

## Development of the Standard

The development of the standard led to a concentration on formal varieties of English in England which some linguists have seen as covert prescriptivism. Discussions of this complex issue can be found in James & Lesley Milroy (1999 [1]) and, by the provision of



contrasting scenarios, in Watts & Trudgill (eds, 2001 [1]). The issue of standard English is a central theme in Bex & Watts (eds, 1999 [1.3]) as it is in Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.3]), in this case with a deliberate plural reference. The historical background to the rise of standard English in England and the attendant increase in prescriptivism is treated in such books as Cheshire & Stein (eds, 1997 [1.3]), Crowley (1989 [1.3], 1991 [1.3.1]) and Mugglestone (2007 [1995] [1]); Lippi-Green (2011 [1997] [5.1]) looks at similar subject matter within the American context. A critique of different views can be found in Mufwene (2001 [1.2]).

## International Standard English

As a means of worldwide communication English has developed along several paths to form international standard English consisting of differing but related varieties. This is an area of research in its own right (McArthur 1998 [1]) and there are dedicated journals dealing with matters which fall within its scope, such as *World Englishes* and *English Today*. There are also corpora dedicated to the collection of data on standard English from different countries, notably those contained in the *International Corpus of English* project and in others such as the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* or the *Australian Corpus of English*. For the sociolinguistic analysis of corpus material, see Baker (2012 [1.1.4]).

## Post-colonial Varieties and World Englishes

Related to the previous issue is scholarly activity dedicated to (i) the post-colonial nature of many overseas forms of English and (ii) the nature and structure of World Englishes. The former area has been investigated in particular by Edgar Schneider, see Schneider (2007 [10.3]) as a comprehensive statement of his views. World Englishes have been a continuing concern of certain scholars, for example Braj Kachru and Tom McArthur. Since the turn of the millennium a number of works have appeared in which these forms of English form the focus, for example McArthur (2002 [1]), Kachru, Kachru & Nelson (eds, 2006 [10]). A general overview and introduction is provided by Mesthrie & Bhatt (2008 [10]). In this context one can mention the specific treatments of English in Asia which have also appeared, for example Bolton (ed., 2002 [7.3.1]), Bolton (2003 [7.3.2]), Bolton & Kachru (eds, 2007 [10]).

## Large Scale, Typological Studies

The increasing amount of data gathered on varieties of English and the greater degree of research in this field has led to ever-larger studies. A large-scale project is the *World Atlas of Varieties of English* based at Freiburg, Germany for which there is a major publication (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2012 [1]) to match the already existing online version of this project (eWAVE). The typological perspective has also been adopted by scholars concerned with the larger picture of variation among varieties, see Siemund (ed., 2011 [1]), Siemund (2013 [1]) as well as Lim & Gisborne (eds, 2009 [7]).

## **Variation and Language Contact**

In recent years there has been a renewed interest in language contact with a number of research publications in this field, for example Deumert & Durrleman-Tame (eds, 2006 [1.2.3]) and Hickey (ed., 2010 [1.2.3]). The spread of features through contact, either with settler groups at overseas locations, for example in Australia and New Zealand, or between native populations or non-anglophone groups and settlers, as in South Africa, has been analysed with a view to understanding the process of language contact better. A subarea within contact studies concerns itself with areal features, that is with the geographical clustering of features and with examining the reasons for this, see Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.1.2]).

## **Vernacular Universals**

Examining linguistic features to see if they correlate across unrelated varieties has spawned a particular approach, the study of vernacular universals, see Chambers (2004 [1.4.5]), Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto (eds, 2009 [1.4.5]), Trudgill (2009 [1.4.5]). There are various definitions of universals in this context and the narrow term ‘angloversal’ is found to refer to those which are specific to varieties of English.

## **Dialect Death**

The rise of new varieties has its counterpart in the demise of others. This is particularly true of traditional dialects in regions with many centuries of anglophone settlement, above all England, but it also applies to the loss of varieties in relic areas under the pressure of supraregional speech in the country in question, see Britain (2009 [1.2.8]) and Wolfram (2002 [1.2.8]) for studies of the situation in England and the United States respectively.

## **Language and Ethnicity**

With the great increase in non-anglophone ethnicities in established English-speaking countries like the United States, Canada or Australia the attention of linguists has been directed towards their speech. Fought (2006 [1.1.15]) is a study with an emphasis on Chicano ethnic groups in the United States. Similar studies can be found for urban centres such as Montreal (Boberg 2004 [5.2]) or Sydney (Kiesling 2001 [8.1]).

## **New Englishes and Second Language Varieties**

The increasing population of English users who are not native speakers, above all in Asia, has triggered increasing research into such varieties, both within the context of background language influence and of the role such varieties play in the countries where they are spoken. A showcase example, in terms of scenarios and in-depth research, is Singapore, see Deterding (2007 [7.2.2]), Lim (ed., 2004 [7.2.2]), Ooi (ed., 2001 [7.2.2]). A recent collection of research into New Englishes is offered in Hundt & Gut (eds, 2012 [10.3]).

## Native and Non-native English

Research into non-native forms of English goes back to the 1980s (Kachru 1990 [1986] [10.4], Williams 1987 [10.4]). More recent studies are Davydova (2011 [10.4]), and Meierkord (2012 [10.4]) from a wider perspective. Determining who is a native speaker and examining the ideology connected with this notion has been the subject of a number of studies, see Davies (2003 [10.4]) and Hackert (2012 [10.4]).

## Pidgin and Creole Languages

There has been a steady interest in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles over several decades and a number of introductions to the field have appeared in recent years, see Holm (2000 [9]), Singh (2000 [9]). The origin and definition of creoles are dealt with in Siegel (2008 [9]) and McWhorter (2000 [9]) respectively. The role of contact and substrates has been a noticeable focus in more recent treatments, see McWhorter (ed., 2000b [9]), Holm (2003 [9]), Escure & Schwegler (eds, 2004 [9]), Migge (ed., 2007 [9]). Ansaldo (2012 [9]) is a study of pidgins and creoles in the Asian context. Pragmatic issues and the use of creole in literature are the topics of Mühleisen & Migge (eds, 2006 [5.3]) and Mühleisen (ed., 2005) respectively. Large-scale overviews are available in Kouwenberg and Singler (eds, 2008 [9]) and above all in Michaelis, Maurer, Haspelmath & Huber (eds, 2013 [9]).

## Language and the Law: Forensic Linguistics

The application of insights from varieties studies can be seen in a number of arenas, a prominent one of which is language and the law. The field of forensic linguistics is well served by literature, see Coulthard & Johnson (2007 [1.1.19]) for a recent introduction. The position of non-native speakers from non-anglophone cultures in conflict with the law is highlighted in Eades (2010 [1.1.19]).

## Variational Pragmatics

Among recent approaches to varieties of language, which have opened up promising new avenues of research, is *variational pragmatics*. This looks at languages which are pluricentric, such as English, but also Romance languages like Spanish and French, and considers to what extent geographical and cultural separation has led to differences in language use arising over time. This would involve such issues as requests, offers, responses, small talk and politeness strategies in general. Schneider & Barron (eds, 2008 [1.3.3]) provides an overview of this field.

## Overviews of the History of English

In the 1980s and 1990s a number of historical studies of English appeared which applied new insights to this subject. The main work here is the many-volume *Cambridge History of the English Language* (ed. Richard Hogg), see Hogg & Denison (eds, 2006 [1.5]) for a summary. Single-volume studies, often with innovative approaches, are Lass (1987 [1.5]), Bailey (1991

[1.5]), Blake (1996 [1.5]), Smith (2005 [1996] [1.5]), Fennell (2001 [1]) and Barber, Beal & Shaw (2009 [1]).

The turn of the millennium saw several new studies of which one could mention the single-volume treatments of the history of English in Brinton & Arnovick (2005 [1.5]) and Mugglestone (ed., 2006 [1.5]).

Many studies of Late Modern English appeared in the 1990s reflecting a concern with the centuries immediately preceding the present day. Among these one has the new edition of Barber (1976) in 1997 [1] and Bailey (1996 [1.5]) as well as Görlach (1991 [1978] [1.5], 1999 [1.5]), Hickey (ed., 2010 [1.5]), Nevalainen (2004 [1.5]), Beal (2004 [1.5]) and Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2009 [1.5]).

The 1990s also saw two large one-volume guides to the English language by McArthur (1992 [1]) and Crystal (1995 [1]), the former with a broad brief and the latter with a specific emphasis on the history of the language. It also saw the introduction of a journal specifically dealing with the analysis of the English language, frequently from a diachronic perspective: *English Language and Linguistics*, 1997– (Cambridge University Press).

At present (early 2013) the history of English is being reassessed by many scholars on the basis of insights gained over the past decade or two. This is obvious in the volume by Nevalainen & Traugott (eds, 2012 [1.5]) and is also a central theme in Kytö & Pahta (eds, 2014 [1.5]).



# How to Use This Book

The references given with definitions are to be found in the Reference Guide at the end of this book; the number in square brackets indicates the section where an item is to be found, for example [1.2.1] refers to section *1.2.1 Language variation and change*. If an entry consists of a phrase, then the head of this phrase, often a noun governed by *of*, usually forms the first word of an entry, for example for *the deletion of unstressed syllables* see **syllables, deletion of unstressed**. Where a term consists of an adjective plus a noun it is the latter which normally forms the first part of the entry, for example **simplification, phonological** is the entry for *phonological simplification*. There are a few exceptions to this, in particular varieties of English themselves. These are found under the first element of the compound, that is *Afrikaans English* is not listed as **English, Afrikaans** but as **Afrikaans English**.

## A

**/æ/ before voiceless fricatives** A lengthening (and later retraction) of /æ/ before /f, θ, s/ in the south of England, cf. *staff* /sta:f/, *bath* /ba:θ/, *pass* /pa:s/ (Jespersen 1940 [1909]: 297–298 [1.5], Ekwall 1975: 25–26 [1.5]). This did not happen in the north of England (Wells 1982: 203 [1]) or in some conservative varieties outside England, that is in eastern/south-eastern dialects of Irish English. In the United States a lengthened and possibly nasalized realization of the low front vowel /æ/ is found (see following entry), probably because the retraction in England postdates the formative years of American English in the colonial period (Montgomery 2001: 140 [5.1.1]). See BATH LEXICAL SET.

**/æ/ tensing** Historically, the vowel transcribed as [æ] was a short vowel in a word like TRAP. Before voiceless fricatives and sequences of nasal+obstruent the vowel was lengthened (see preceding entry), giving long vowels in *path*, *staff*, *pass*; *dance*, *advance*. In some varieties of English there has been a similar lengthening in other environments, especially before sonorants, that is before /n, r, l/. In these cases the vowel is often ‘tensed’, that is lengthened and possibly raised yielding [mɛ:n, mɛən, mɪən] for *man*. Varieties may vary in which of the sonorants trigger tensing, those varieties of American English with tensing have it before nasals, but rural Irish English has pre-liquid tensing. /æ/ tensing has resulted in a split with the TRAP vowel, for example in New Orleans speech (YAT): (i) tensed before nasals, fricatives and voiced stops (Labov 2007: 365 [1.2]), for example *pass* and *bad*, and (ii) lax, that is short [æ], in other environments. In the large cities of the mid Atlantic states, e.g. New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, tensing may not apply to minor lexical categories, such as auxiliaries and function words, so that pairs like *halve* [heəv] and *have* [hæv] can be distinguished by the presence or absence of tensing. Reference to this feature can be as ‘ASH-tensing’ given that ASH is the name (in Old English and much later in the IPA) for the vowel transcribed as [æ].

**/æ/ tensing, pre-liquid** A feature of traditional rural dialects in the south of Ireland which show tensing before /r/ and /l/, for example *calf* [kæ:f], *car* [kæ:r] (both without an inglide). This tensing does not apply in pre-nasal position, contrast this with the situation in many varieties of American English (see previous entry).

***A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*** In the Augustan era (early eighteenth century) a general opinion was that English had decayed considerably after the Elizabethan era. For this reason Jonathan Swift published his proposal in 1712 and expressed his views on how the language was deteriorating. Attitudes like these fed into the prescriptivist tradition which came to the fore in the mid eighteenth century, see contributions in Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.1.2]).

**/ɒ/ before voiceless fricatives** Lengthening of /ɒ/ (to /ɔ:/) before /f, θ, s/ can still be found among older and rural southern British speakers (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 10–11 [2.1]), as in *cross* /krɔ:s/, *often* /ɔ:ftn/, *cloth* /klɔ:θ/ but is not found with younger speakers. In most of these instances the pronunciation has been reversed to a short vowel in RP but the long vowel has been retained in other varieties of English, for example Dublin English.

**AAVE** See AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH.

**ablaut** A change in the stem vowel of a verb to indicate a change in tense, normally from past to preterite or with the past participle. Ablaut is common in Germanic and is still seen in strong verbs in English, cf. *sing–sang–sung* (three different vowel qualities); *come–came–come* (two different vowel qualities). Also called *apophony*.

**Aboriginal Australian English** See ABORIGINAL ENGLISH.

**Aboriginal English** A term chiefly used for varieties of English spoken by members of the Aboriginal population of Australia (Butcher 2008 [8.1.1]). For Australia it is assumed that before the establishment of British settlements in New South Wales in the late eighteenth century there were upwards of 300,000 people in Australia who spoke about 500 distinct languages. In early New South Wales (the eastern half of Australia before the formation of Queensland and Victoria as subdivisions of Australia) many authors assume that a pidgin arose, perhaps with possible creolization (Malcolm 2001: 210 [8.1.1]). The pidgins which still exist in the Kimberley region (north-western Australia), the Northern Territory and Cape York Peninsula are taken to be remnants of a much wider spread of pidgins across northern, eastern and south-eastern Australia. The settlement of later Queensland between 1823 and 1859 may have involved the use of New South Wales pidgin English as a lingua franca by the native population, this hypothesis being supported by the occurrence of words in pidgin English in Queensland from languages of the Sydney area. This pidgin is assumed to have lasted at least to the late nineteenth century and fed into Cape York Creole and Kriol, the latter variety being carried to the Kimberley region during the twentieth century, Malcolm (2001: 213 [8.1.1]). On the structure of Australian creoles, see Shnukal (1991 [8.1.2]) for Torres Strait Creole and Sandefur (1991 [8.1.2]) for Kriol. A similar dissemination is assumed for a southern movement into the area of later Victoria (then a part of New South Wales). Nyungan English was widely used in the south in the mid to late nineteenth century and taken to be based on New South Wales pidgin English.

If the scenario of an earlier pidgin in New South Wales, which affected other areas in the south and especially the north, is valid (with later approximation to more standard varieties)



then the shared features of Aboriginal English could be accounted for by the retention of some traits of the earlier pidgin. The second explanation for commonalities would appeal to typological similarities among the native languages of the east, south-east, south and west. Substrate influence on incipient varieties of English among Aborigines would then be taken to have been fairly uniform across large tracts of south and east Australia. A third explanation of similarities would appeal to convergence among varieties, deriving from a desire, whether conscious or not, for speakers to have a common form of English which would differ from that of the white community (Malcolm 2001: 214–215 [8.1.1]).

Transfer from substrate languages and/or residual effects of pidginization and possible creolization result in the non-standard pronunciation of sibilants, inter-dental and labiodental consonants. The distinction in voice is not always adhered to. Variable pronunciation of initial /h/ is common. Unstressed vowels tend not to be phonetically reduced and words with an initial (unstressed) schwa may be realized without this, Malcolm (2001: 215 [8.1.1]).

The use of the copula in equative sentences is not always obligatory and the usage of auxiliaries and modals may deviate from that in standard English. Verb paradigms may show regularization and the third person singular present tense may not show inflectional -s. Questions are often conveyed by intonational means rather than by word order inversion or the use of *wh*-forms. Equally, nouns are not always marked for plural and/or possession. With personal pronouns a distinction between a dual and a plural may be found similar to that between inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural in TOK PISIN (in Papua New Guinea). Australian creoles, and perhaps Aboriginal English, may have been affected by Melanesian pidgins brought by workers on sugar plantations in Queensland in the late nineteenth century.

Code switching is a characteristic of many forms of English in contact with indigenous languages. Lexical items entered Aboriginal English, and from there into more general forms of English, probably due to code-switching in early forms of Aboriginal pidgin English, for example *gin* 'Aboriginal woman' (cf. Dharuk *diyin* 'woman, wife'), *waddy* 'Aboriginal war-club' (cf. Dharuk *wadi* 'stick, club'). Code switching may be the origin of such ubiquitous terms as *boomerang* 'curved flat piece of carved wood which returns to thrower' or *koala* 'bear-like native marsupial'.

N.B. The term 'aboriginal English' is also found to refer to the English spoken by the indigenous people of Canada, that is, aboriginal Canadians.

**absolute construction** Part of a sentence, usually at the beginning or the end, which is not formally linked to the rest and which is functionally similar to a subordinate clause. The relationship between the two units is implied by the context, *Weather permitting, we will leave tomorrow. This being the case, we have to act quickly.*

**academy** An institution, usually with official status in a country, which regulates the use of the standard variety. In the English-speaking world there are no language academies. South Africa is a partial exception: it has an academy with a journal, the *English Academy Review*, but the institution does not have official recognition. In previous centuries there was debate in England about whether an academy was needed, but in the end the functions of such an academy, for example to produce authoritative works on the standard, such as grammars and dictionaries, were fulfilled by major publishing houses such as Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press in England or Merriam-Webster in the United States. In this respect English-speaking countries differ from European countries, for example France, Italy and Sweden which do have academies. In the case of Spanish there is an academy in Madrid and others in the major Spanish-speaking countries of Central and South America as well as an association of such academies which strives to agree on standard usage for Spanish.

**Acadia** A part of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French colony of New France (*La Nouvelle France*) in Canada which at its maximum extent included the area of the present-day Maritimes (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island) and the stretch of coast down to Maine in the United States. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Acadia became a British territory, but it was not until the 1750s that the French speakers were expelled – some of whom moved to Louisiana, the area of the Mississippi delta where the descendants of the Acadians form the Cajun ethnic group today (CAJUN ENGLISH).

**accent** (1) A reference to pronunciation, that is the collection of phonetic features which allow speakers to be identified regionally and/or socially. Frequently it indicates that someone does not speak the standard form of a language, cf. *He speaks with a strong accent*. (2) The stress placed on a syllable of a word or the type of stress used by a language (volume, length and/or pitch). In the International Phonetic Alphabet primary accent is shown with a superscript vertical stroke placed before the stressed syllable as in *polite* [pə<sup>ˈ</sup>laɪt]. A subscript stroke indicates secondary stress, e.g. *a 'black<sub>1</sub>bird* (compound word) versus *a 'black<sup>1</sup>bird* (syntactic group).

**accent bar** A reference to the fact that a local accent is often an obstacle to social advancement and public acceptance.

**acceptability judgement** An assessment by a native speaker of whether a structure is well formed and hence acceptable. Such judgements vary across varieties of English, not just in vernacular varieties. There are degrees of well-formedness with some structures being rejected outright, for example \**which read did Fiona book?*, and others triggering uncertainty in native speakers, e.g. ?*He left yesterday for London*. For instance, there is a general preference for the ordering of adverbials in English: those which refer to a speaker's state of knowledge (*probably*) or attitude (*happily*) structurally precede those more directly associated with the subject, for example *Probably, Fiona did the work quickly. Happily, Fiona managed the situation tactfully. ?Quickly, Fiona probably did the work. ?Tactfully, Fiona happily managed the situation*.

**acceptable** A reference to whether a word, phrase or sentence is regarded by native speakers as WELL FORMED in their language. Judgements frequently vary with native speakers and linguistic analyses which are based on doubtful linguistic examples are empirically weak. The label 'acceptable' is preferable to 'correct' as it is not evaluative.

**accidence** A now obsolete term deriving from Latin *accidentia* (from the verb 'to happen; fall (towards)'), itself employed as a translation of Greek *parepomena* (lit. 'what follows') and previously used for 'morphology'.

**accommodation** A term from sociology (used primarily by Howard Giles) and applied to sociolinguistics, above all by the British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill. It assumes that when speakers are in face-to-face interaction with other speakers they will adapt their speech to that of their interlocutors, perhaps in an effort to make them feel at ease or to be socially accepted by them. If this accommodation occurs across an entire community then it can lead to new dialects which contain combinations of input features. Accommodation is taken to be responsible for the reduction in differences between dialects and for the rise of intermediate forms. It does not take place via the media (Trudgill 1986: 40 [1.2.3]). Additionally, individuals who

leave a rural area, go to a city and return are accommodated to as they are regarded as being carriers of prestige forms by local inhabitants. *See* DISSOCIATION.

**acculturation model** A conception of how second language acquisition works. It attempts to account for the fossilisation of L2 acquisition among adults at a certain stage which is far from target-like. As reasons for this it proposes the degree of socialization, integration into the L2-speaking social group and identification with it.

**accusative** In an inflectional language the formal marking of the direct object of a verb. A similar marking can be found after prepositions. As a term from traditional Latin grammar it is inappropriate in modern English as the latter does not have any corresponding inflection. *See* OBLIQUE CASE.

**acoustic phonetics** One of the three main areas of phonetics which is concerned with analysing the physical properties of sounds. *See* ARTICULATORY PHONETICS and AUDITORY PHONETICS.

**acquired** (1) A reference to any knowledge which is gained in early childhood in the process of first language acquisition. (2) A reference to a disturbance in language which derives from an injury or a disease, that is which is not hereditary.

**acquisition** The process whereby children absorb linguistic information unconsciously and internalize it, using it later when they wish to speak the language in question – their native language. Acquisition is unconscious, largely unguided and shows a high degree of completeness compared to second language learning. A broader definition of the term would also include the unguided learning of a second language in a language contact situation.

**acquisition, manner of** In language shift scenarios there can be many different ways in which English is acquired by the shifting population. This is of relevance to the type of English which results from the shift. *See* Hickey (2007b [3.3]) and Mesthrie (1992 [6.3.1.5]).

**acrolect** The variety in a CREOLE-speaking community which is closest to the standard form of the language which served as original input (LEXIFIER LANGUAGE), for example English, Dutch, French, Portuguese in former colonies. The acrolect usually enjoys greatest prestige in the community where it is found, for example standard Jamaican English.

**acronym** A word which is composed of the initial letters of a group of other words, for example *NASA* from *National Aeronautics and Space Administration*.

**active** A type of sentence in which the semantic subject is also the formal subject, for example *Fiona cooked the evening meal*. Active contrasts with passive in which this is not the case, for example *The evening meal was cooked by Fiona* (here *meal* is the formal subject and *Fiona* is governed by a preposition). Active sentences are taken as more basic than passive ones and are quantitatively more common in speech.

**Acts of Union** A series of acts passed by the English parliament with the intention of integrating countries under the English crown. The first act of union involved Wales (in two

stages: 1536 and 1543), the second involved Scotland (1707) and the third Ireland (1801). With the acts of union the parliaments of these countries were abolished and their members of parliament came to sit in Westminster, London. In 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland came into being, in 1922 (with the partition of Ireland and independence for the south) it was renamed the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

**actuation** In theories of language change, the trigger which initiates change. This can be the preference for a type of pronunciation or a certain grammatical structure among speakers of a group (an external trigger). The drive to regularize paradigms in morphology would be an example of an internal trigger and is typical of early language acquisition. *See* ANALOGICAL CHANGE, PROPAGATION, TERMINATION.

**adaptation** A stage which often follows BORROWING in which foreign words are made to conform to the phonology of the receiving language, for example early French loans in English have initial stress (as is typical of the lexical stems in English), for example *certain, forest, hostel, malice*, but later French loans have not been adapted to this pattern, for example *prestige, hotel, police*, all with stress on the second syllable.

**address system** The set of rules which specify what forms are appropriate when speaking to others in a certain social context. In most European languages (except English and Irish) there is a twofold system with one set of pronouns used for familiar address (*tu, toi, ta, ton* in French) and one for formal address (*vous, votre*). The range of each set differs among groups in any given society and between different countries but in general the former – T-FORMS – are used among friends and relatives and the latter – V-FORMS – with strangers.

**adjective** A word class of items which generally qualify a noun. Because of this adjectives are normally found either before or after the noun they refer to, in SVO and VSO languages respectively. Adjectives in this position are termed ‘attributive’, for example *The dry snow made for good skiing* while those placed after a verb are called ‘predicative’ as in *The snow is very dry*. Adjectives can be qualified by adverbs (as in the example just given).

**adjectives, comparative and superlative forms of** Forms of an adjective indicating degree, either via the suffixes *-er/-est* or the adverbs *more/most*, for example *a more interesting book; the wettest summer; a most ridiculous claim*. In some cases a superlative with *-most* may be permissible: *The bottommost book in the pile; The northernmost island*. Regularized comparatives/superlatives also occur, for example *That’s a badder horse, The baddest horse*. Double comparatives and superlatives occur in some present-day and historical varieties, for example *A more kinder person I do not know; The most darkest day we’ve had so far*.

**adjectives, comparison of** This is realized in English (i) by the suffix *-er*, when the adjective is not more than two syllables long, for example *full : fuller, common : commoner* or (ii) by the use of *more* before the adjective, for example *more interesting, more dangerous*. There would appear to be a tendency towards the analytic comparison as in *The most common type of mistake*.

**adjunct** Any element which is optional in a phrase, that is which can be omitted without affecting its grammaticality, for example adverbial phrases as in *He left (in a hurry)*.

**adolescent speech** The speech of individuals between puberty and their late teens. This is a stage in which young people find their bearings in society and establish their personality. It is also a period in which individuals vary in their use of language depending on what groups in their speech community they associate with or aspire to. See Eckert (1988, 2004 [1.1.10]), Rampton (1995 [1.1.10]), Romaine (1984 [1.1.10]).

**adopters, early and late** For any instance of language change there will be (i) innovators, those who initiate a change and (ii) adopters who pick this up. The latter group can be divided into two with a small group of early adopters and a larger, more mainstream, group of late adopters. Only when the latter has adopted the change completely can it be said to have taken place fully.

**advanced pronunciation** A form of a variety which shows all features characteristic of this variety to the fullest degree, including the most recent changes. For example, advanced RP would show the merger of words like *poor* and *pour*, something which does not hold for all RP speakers.

**adverb** A word class encompassing those elements which qualify verbs (*She smiled slyly*) or adjectives (*A remarkably good linguist*). Some adverbs can qualify a clause or an entire sentence as in *Surprisingly, Fiona left for home*.

**adverbs, inchoative and counterfactual** In forms of Southern American English there are additional constructions not found in England: (1) *fixin' to* in the sense of 'about to do something', for example *They're fixin' to leave town* and (2) *liketa* in the sense of 'almost' ('AVERTIVE *liketa*', Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 87 [5.1]; Feagin 1979 [5.1.9]), for example *We liketa drowned that day*. In Newfoundland English, *had (a)liketa* is common (Clarke 2010: 94 [5.2.8]). The term 'inchoative' denotes the beginning of something and 'counterfactual' something which is not the case.

**adverbs, intensifying** Intensifiers vary across the anglophone world, for example *They're fierce cruel; I'm pure robbed, You're dead right* in Ireland/Scotland/England. Varieties of North American English have other intensifiers, for example *right, plumb* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 378 [5.1]; see Clarke 2010: 93 [5.2.8] on Newfoundland English).

**adverbs, order of** In Afrikaans English the usual order of place, manner, time is not always kept to, for example *She went this morning by bus to town* – here: time, manner, place – (Watermeyer 1996: 117 [6.3.1.2]) and is probably due to first language interference.

**adverbs, unmarked** Adverbs which indicate degree, for example augmentatives, are often used without the typical adverbial ending *-ly*, *That's real cool!* (not *really*). *He's awful busy these days*. (not *awfully*).

**affix** An element which is attached to a lexical base. Affixes are usually bound morphemes and can either serve to indicate a grammatical category, for example *child* (noun) and *childish* (adjective), or to form a new word, for example *commission* and *decommission*. Some affixes are unproductive, that is cannot be used to form new words at will, for example *get* and *forget*. Affixes are subdivided into *prefixes*, *infixes* and *suffixes*. Only the first and third type are common in English.

**affricate** A phonetic segment which consists of a stop followed immediately by a fricative. Affricates act as units phonologically and are synchronically indivisible, for example /tʃ/ in *church* /tʃɜːtʃ/ or /dʒ/ in *judge* /dʒʌdʒ/. The [ts] in *cats* /kæts/ is not an affricate because the two segments are separable, that is *cats* consists of /kæt/ + /s/.

**Africa, East** A large area encompassing countries from Ethiopia down to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean side of Africa. Three of these countries were former British colonies: Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania. The position of English there has been somewhat different from that in Southern and West Africa not least because of the long-standing indigenous lingua franca, Swahili. English was thus used as a supplementary language and not a primarily pidginized one as was the case in West Africa. Because the native languages of Eastern Africa frequently belong to the Bantu group there is in most instances a common substrate. Furthermore, English interacts with Swahili in this region so that code-switching and mixed forms result. In general East African English is non-rhotic and has a simplified vowel system with frequent syllable-timing. See Schmied (2012 [6.2]).

**Africa, English in** Africa has a long and complicated colonial history. The west coast was first visited by the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century. In later centuries European countries established trading posts (for which they often paid ground rent to local rulers) or traded from on board their ships. Later the continent came increasingly to feel colonial pressure from major European powers. This development reached its peak in the nineteenth century with the SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA when the entire continent was divided up by the Europeans, usually with no regard for the demographic distribution of the indigenous peoples. Thus the Belgians took a huge part of equatorial Africa calling it Belgian Congo (later Zaire now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The Portuguese took Angola and the British took lands on the east and west coasts such as Kenya, Uganda and Nigeria, Ghana respectively. What was later to become the Republic of South Africa had an early Dutch and a later English presence. A German presence was to be found in the late nineteenth century (Germany was unified in 1871 and experienced colonial expansion in the following decades), for instance in Togo, Cameroon, in German East Africa (Deutsch-Ostafrika), but most German speakers went to South-West Africa (Deutsch-Südwestafrika), present-day Namibia. Some countries such as Cameroon have had periods under different colonial powers, in this case Britain, France and Germany. The result of this colonial vying for hegemony is that Britain largely prevailed (i) in West Africa, from The Gambia to Nigeria and partly into Cameroon, (ii) in East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania) and (iii) in Southern Africa (South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland). The English language developed differently depending on whether there were substantial numbers of settlers, as in South Africa and Zimbabwe, who continued native speaker English at the particular African location.

**Africa, South** See SOUTH AFRICA.

**Africa, Southern** A distinction is made between South Africa – a country, officially called the *Republic of South Africa* – and Southern Africa – a region which consists of South Africa and the English-dominant countries Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. English is also widely used in Namibia, former South-West Africa. The English language was first brought to South Africa at the end of the eighteenth century. It spread northwards during the nineteenth century with the colonial exploration of present-day



Zimbabwe and Zambia (former Southern and Northern Rhodesia respectively). The area on the left of Lake Nyasa (in present-day Malawi) was affected by this and partly anglicized. This was also true of Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana) which resisted incorporation into South Africa. The area of present-day Namibia came under German control later in the nineteenth century but was also affected by the spread of the English language from South Africa and by Afrikaans. Mozambique remained a dependency of Portugal (until 1975) and did not come under the influence of English.

**Africa, The Scramble for** A term used to describe the division of Africa by European powers during the 1880s and 1890s. During this period, these powers established their political authority in Africa. From the mid 1870s the European powers showed a determination to expand inland from the African coast. The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, ostensibly to deal with the future of the Congo, laid the foundations for the political division of Africa into zones controlled by European powers who drew up treaties relating to their spheres of influence and subsequently proceeded to conquer these militarily. British East Africa included the areas of present-day Uganda and Kenya. In South Africa Cecil Rhodes pushed northwards in the 1880s establishing later Rhodesia (Southern and Northern, present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia respectively). The area of Bechuanaland was roughly coterminous with present-day Botswana while Nyasaland equated with modern Malawi. The area of present-day Namibia became German South-West Africa. Togo and Cameroon became German colonies for a time (until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 after Germany's defeat in World War I) as did tracts of East Africa known as Deutsch-Ostafrika 'German East Africa'. Most African countries became independent from their European colonizers in the mid twentieth century, often involving military struggle as the Europeans resisted independence movements, for example the French in Algeria or the Belgians in the Congo.

**Africa, West** A reference to the set of nations on the coast of Western Africa from Gambia, in the north-west, to Cameroon in the south of the region. It is here that trade contacts were most intensive from the beginning of European involvement with the region onwards. Pidgins developed to a greater degree here than in other parts of Africa. Most of the countries of West Africa are former colonies of England (hence the official language of many of them is English) and the base for the pidgins spoken in this region is English, *see* WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH. There are also more acrolectal (more formal) varieties which belong to the set of New Englishes, non-native forms of English which have become established as independent varieties in countries which were formerly colonies of England.

**African American English** A reference to varieties of English used in the United States (referred to in Canada as African Canadian English) by people who are wholly or partially of African descent. This accounts for over 10 per cent of the population, the figures depend on the definitions of African American: the United States Census Bureau gave the total population 'Black or African American alone or in combination' in 2010 as 13.5 per cent or some 42 million; 'Black or African American alone' was given as 12.6 per cent or 39 million. The majority of African Americans are the descendants of slaves taken by the British from West Africa to America to work on the plantations of the South. Initially, the transportation was via the Caribbean, then directly to the south-east coast of the later United States. Although there was a concentration of African Americans in the rural South, the migration to the large cities of the INLAND NORTH in the early twentieth century (Anderson 2008 [5.1.10]) meant that

urban African American varieties developed outside the South (*see* GREAT MIGRATION). Because these were severed from the historical core area they have frequently undergone developments not shared with the original varieties in the South. Varieties of African American English embody a large number of non-standard features on all levels of language. Some of these are almost conventional stereotypes and their frequency varies greatly – some are indeed quite rare. There is also a range of sub-varieties, for example with young/urban/hip hop contrasting with rural/traditional, and they have characteristics of their own. Furthermore, most of these features are not distinctive and are shared with many other non-standard varieties.

*Pronunciation* (1) Consonant clusters in non-initial position are reduced to a single segment: *test* [tes], *desk* [des] *looked* [luk], *talked* [tɔ:k]. (2) Non-prevocalic /r/ is absent: *car* [ka:], *party* [pa:ti]. (3) Frequent deletion of final /l/, particularly before labials or word-finally with auxiliaries: *help* [hɛp], *he'll be home* [hi bi ho:m]. (4) Stopping of initial /ð/ to either [d] (dental stop) or [d̪] (alveolar stop): *this* [d̪is], *there* [d̪e:]. (5) In word-final position /θ/ is frequently shifted to [f] (also found in COCKNEY English); this shift is also found for /ð/ (→ [v]) in word-internal position: *bath* [baf], *teeth* [ti:f] *brother* [brʌvə]. (6) Velar nasals are realized as alveolars: *She's comin' tomorrow*. (7) The distinction between short /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ is frequently lost before nasals (also in southern white American English). The neutralization is to the raised vowel [ɪ]: *pen, pin* [pɪn]; *ten, tin* [tɪn]. (8) Glide reduction with /ai/, a feature typical of the Upper South, is also found in African American English before voiced segments: *five* [fa:v], *time* [ta:m]. (9) Initial stress is often found with words with non-initial stress in other varieties, e.g. 'police, 'define.

*Grammar, general* (1) Negative concord (the agreement of all polarity items with each other within a clause) serves the purpose of intensifying a negation, for example *I ain't givin' nothin' to nobody*. (2) Existential *there* is replaced by *it*: *It ain't no football pitch at school*. (3) Plurals are not marked if preceded by numerals. *He here for three year now*. (4) The genitive is not necessarily marked with /s/ (as position is sufficient to indicate this category) *I drove my brother car*. (5) A formal distinction is frequently made between second person singular and plural: *you* [ju:] (singular) and *y'all* [jɔ:l], derived from *you + all* (plural); this is also a general southern feature.

*Grammar, verbal syntax* (1) Third person singular -s is variably omitted. *She like my brother*. (2) The copula is deleted in equative sentences, that is those of the form X=Y. *She a teacher. They workers in the factory*. (3) *Come* has been grammaticalized as a type of auxiliary. Often labelled 'indignant' *come* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 373 [5.1]) because it denotes disapproval: *He come tellin' me some story* 'He told me some false story'. (4) *Like to/liketa* has often the meaning of 'almost'. *She liketa fell out the window*. 'She almost fell out of the window.' (5) Bare subject relative clauses occur, for example *He the man (who) got all the cars*. (6) Double modals are found occasionally within the same verb phrase (as elsewhere in the South, e.g. in Appalachian English): *He might could do the work. She may can do the work*. This is probably an inherited feature from Scots-derived dialects originally brought to the United States in the eighteenth century which then diffused into the language of the African-American population (*see* APPALACHIAN ENGLISH). (7) The number of verb forms is reduced: the past has typically one form, based either on the simple past or the past participle: *I've already ate. He drunk that stuff before*.

*Grammar, verbal aspect* (1) Uninflected *be* marks habitual aspect *They be out on the street at night*. 'They are always out on the street at night.' Bailey & Maynor (1985 [5.1.10]), following Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968 [1.2]), distinguish between one form, *be*<sub>1</sub>, which is



derived through deletion of *will/would*, and another, *be<sub>2</sub>*, which does not show an underlying modal and which takes *do* support: *He be in his office tomorrow.* (*He will...*) but *He be in his office every morning.* (*He does be...*). (2) An iterative aspect is expressed by *steady*: *They steady talkin' outside our house.* 'They are always talking outside our house.' (3) Stressed *been* occurs to indicate the remote past *I 'been travel to New York.* 'I travelled to New York a long time ago.' *Jodie, she 'been married to Chuck.* 'Jodie has been married to Chuck for a long time.' (4) The unstressed past participle form of *do*, *done* [dʌn], is used to signal a completed action: *He done cook the food.* 'He has cooked the food.'

**Vocabulary** Some items are clearly of West African origin, such as *buckra* 'white man', *tote* 'to carry', *goober* 'peanut', *yam* 'sweet potato' (note: the origin of *jazz* is unknown). Semantic extensions of existing English words are: *homies* 'close friends; prisoner inmates', *bloods* 'other blacks', *whities* 'white people', *bad* 'good, admirable', *cool* 'good, neat', *hip* 'knowledgeable', *dude* 'male' (often disparaging). Some of these usages have diffused into general American English and from there to other languages, for example, *cool*.

**Pragmatics** In-group language is characteristic of black street gangs in the major northern cities of the United States (such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago). Discourse structure is quite different from that of white Americans. Verbal insulting can take on ritual forms and volatile, rhythmic eloquence is known as *rappin'*.

**African American English, diaspora varieties of** In the early nineteenth century some African American slaves from the southern United States left the country and settled elsewhere. The groups which then arose constitute diaspora which are assumed to have retained features of African American English of the time. Diaspora communities were established in the north-west of the Dominican Republic on the Samaná Peninsula, in the Bahamas (Hackert and Huber 2007 [5.1.10.3]) and in eastern Canada in Nova Scotia (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1991 [5.1.10.4.]). The slaves who left the United States with the assistance of the American Colonisation Society settled in West Africa and founded the state of LIBERIA.

**African American English, sources of** African American English can be traced back to forms of English which developed in the seventeenth century in the Caribbean after the slave trade had been started by European powers. This trade consisted of transporting native Africans from West Africa to the islands of the Caribbean where they worked on the plantations for their English masters. Later, with crowding on smaller Caribbean islands, such as Barbados, black slaves were moved to the southern coast of the present-day United States and put to work on tobacco and cotton plantations.

**African American English, terms for** The present-day label (2013) is a development in terminology which has a considerable history. African American Vernacular English was simplified to the current term by removing 'Vernacular' and thus gained a broader reference. Prior to this, the brief use of 'Afro-American', which did not imply equal status of both elements, was discontinued. The label 'Black English Vernacular' or just 'Black English' was found in literature in the 1960s and early 1970s, most notably in William Labov (1972) *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* [5.1.10.1]. The term 'Negro speech' occurs in Wolfram (1969) *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* [5.1.10] but was never widespread in linguistic literature. The linguistic term 'African American English' follows a preference in American society for 'African American' rather than 'black' as not all members of this ethnic group are the sole descendants of Africans. In other countries 'Black

English' is a common label for the speech of those of African descent, cf. 'British Black English' and 'South African Black English'.

**African American English, theories of origin** There are two major hypotheses concerning the origins of African American English: (i) the creolist hypothesis posits a creole which arose in the formative years of African American English due to the different linguistic backgrounds of slaves and the need for basic communication. This creole would have progressively lost its most basilectal features through a process of decreolization. (ii) the Anglicist or dialect hypothesis (see previous entry but one) which maintains that the non-standard features of African American English arose through contact with regional speakers from Britain and Ireland. The later segregation of the slaves meant that other features arose not found in the input forms. Nonetheless, it is true that many of the features of African American English also occur in dialects of the British Isles, for example grammatical features such as HABITUAL ASPECT, COPULA DELETION or unmarked plurals after numerals and phonological features such as FINAL CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION and ASK-METATHESIS. Recent research tends to stress compromise positions between the poles just outlined and the neo-Anglicist hypothesis (Poplack 2000 [5.1.10]) emphasizes new features, for instance in urban African American English, not necessarily present among the input dialects. See Poplack (ed., 2000 [5.1.10]), Schneider (1989 [5.1.10]), Winford (1997–1998 [5.1.10]), Holm (2003 [9.]).

**African languages** On the continent of Africa, four large language groups are generally recognized. These are (roughly from north to south) (1) Afroasiatic (which contains Arabic and Berber), (2) Nilo-Saharan, (3) Niger-Congo (which contains the BANTU LANGUAGES) and (4) Khoisan, now regarded as a set of families (*see* KHOISAN LANGUAGE FAMILIES).

**Afrikaans** A colonial language based on southern dialects of Dutch which developed in the Cape region of South Africa from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. Its grammar has been simplified compared to Dutch, a fact which has led many linguists to believe that Afrikaans arose through a process of pidginization with later creolization (Roberge 2002, 2007 [6.3.1.2]). For this, inter-ethnic contact between colonists and their slaves (of African or South Asian origin) and Khoe workers may have been responsible. Decreolization would then have followed, much as with forms of African American English in North America.

**Afrikaans English** Varieties of English spoken in South Africa by individuals whose first language is AFRIKAANS. Afrikaans English is not a single FOCUSED VARIETY (Watermeyer 1996: 121 [6.3.1.2]) so that not all features will necessarily be present in all forms.

*Pronunciation* (1) [æ] is raised to [ɛ] which leads to a push shift for the mid vowels. (2) The lax high front vowel /ɪ/, as in *bit*, is centralized to [ə], except initially or after /h/ (*see* KIT-BIT SPLIT). (3) Fronting of /u:/ and /ʊ/ to /y(:)/ is not as prevalent as in other varieties because Afrikaans has phonemic /y:/ which inhibits the forward movement of high back vowels. (4) /ɑ:/ may be raised and rounded to [ɔ:] and hence front and unrounded as a hypercorrection in Afrikaans English: [ä:]. (5) High off-glides can be reduced or lost entirely, for example *side* [sɑ:d], but this does not hold for all speakers. (6) Consonants show final devoicing as in Afrikaans, for example *bread* [bret]. (7) Afrikaans does not have voiced sibilants or /θ, ð/ and the latter are commonly realized as stops with occasional replacement of /θ/ by /f/. (8) /r/ can be realized as an alveolar trill or tap (especially intervocally). (9) Voiceless stops may

lack aspiration. (10) Alveolar stops may be dental /t, d/ > [t̪, d̪]. (11) Epenthetic [h] can occur as a hiatus-breaker, for example in a word like *theatre*.

**Morphology** (1) There is a tendency not to mark verbs in the third person singular, for example *His temper flare up. Monday mornings when the school start*. (2) A tendency exists not to mark (non-punctual) verbs in the past *And all the sand blow against my legs*. (3) Demonstrative pronouns may reduce to one, for example *You can control that steps. Where can you get that contacts?* (4) Singular *it/there* can occur with plural referents. *It was funny things happening. There is some other instruments*.

**Syntax** (1) *Busy* is used in a much larger range of contexts (perhaps an extension based on Afrikaans *is besig om...*), for example *He is busy sleeping on the sofa. She is busy worrying about the children*. (2) Progressive forms of stative verbs are attested: *My mother was having her suspicions*. (3) The order of adverbials is different from other varieties of English: time, manner, place (from Afrikaans): *She went this morning by bus to town*. (4) Adverbials occur post-verbally before an object: *They demand now their rights*. (5) Use of *now* for the immediate future: *I'll phone her now* or as an intensifier: *He's now really stupid*. (6) With WH-questions the interrogative word order is maintained in subordinate clauses, for example *I must just find out when is he coming. How can I tell you how was it?* (7) Deletion of verb markers and contracted forms of the verb 'to be' occur: *She looking tired; The wife play*.

**Vocabulary** Apart from specific terms from the region and direct borrowings from Afrikaans there are features which could be due to transfer or retention, for example the use of *learn* for *teach*. Afrikaans has only one word *leer* but dialects of English had, and some have, *learn* with an animate object in the sense of *teach*. Confusion may occur with sets of verbs with complementary meanings, for example *lend* and *borrow* (Afrikaans again has one word *leen* covering the semantic range of both these verbs). But again some dialects of English have *lend* in both senses. The inherited distinction of *less* and *fewer* (the former for non-countable nouns and the latter for countable ones) is not necessarily maintained, for example *Less students are studying Afrikaans these days* perhaps because Afrikaans uses *min* in both cases. However, the lack of this distinction could be due to its demise in more general varieties of English.

**Afrogenesis** The view that the essential features of Atlantic creoles were already established in West Africa before slaves were transported to the Caribbean and North America. Proponents of this view, such as John McWhorter, claim that the assumption is necessary to account for the structural similarities among Atlantic creoles.

**Afro-Seminole** A creole spoken by a few hundred speakers in present-day Oklahoma (Seminole County), Texas (Bracketville) and possibly in north Mexico as well. Ian Hancock suggested that Afro-Seminole is related to Gullah and that both are early creole forms of African American English.

**after perfective** See PERFECTIVE, IMMEDIATE.

**Age of Discovery, The** A period from the fifteenth century and continuing into the eighteenth century, during which European explorers discovered new sea routes around the world mainly for the purpose of trade with locations outside Europe. Among the most famous explorers of this era are Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, Vasco da Gama, John Cabot, Juan Ponce de León, Ferdinand Magellan, Willem Barentsz, Abel Tasman, Jacques Cartier and James Cook.

**age-grading** A reference to the possible differential use of features across the lifetime of speakers. The key periods are adolescence and early adulthood. When individuals emerge from childhood at puberty they orientate themselves increasingly towards groups outside the family and they may adapt their realization of key variables depending on how they position themselves vis-à-vis these groups. For instance, whether individuals living in London shows TH-FRONTING may depend on whether they wish to associate with groups who already have this feature. Later reorientation, for example when their employment leads to new associations, may involve removing this feature from their speech. However, there does not seem to be firm evidence for large groups varying in the same manner between adolescence and adulthood across a number of generations. See Chambers (2009 [1.1.1]).

**agglutinative** A term used in language typology to denote those languages, such as Finnish, Turkish or many Bantu languages, which use formally transparent, bound morphemes to indicate grammatical categories. An example of agglutination from English would be *mean-ing-less-ness* or *un-bear-able-y*.

**/ai/ and /au/, realization of** (1) A conditioned raising of diphthong onsets, with /ə, ʌ/ before voiceless segments, otherwise /a/, is a marked characteristic of Canadian English with the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (Chambers 1973 [5.2]). This feature – significantly for the first diphthong only – is also found in other varieties, in the central Fens (East Anglia, Britain 1997 [1.2.3]), in Scots and Ulster Scots (for /ai/ and with slightly differing conditions than elsewhere) and is attested for coastal Virginia and South Carolina (Kurath & McDavid 1961 [5.1.3]) as well as in the FALKLAND ISLANDS. The varieties with centralization only for /ai/ often have fronting of the onset of /au/, that is [æʊ] / [eʊ]. (2) The retraction of the onset for /ai/ is frequent across the anglophone world: [aɪ] is a common realization in the Southern Hemisphere and the retraction can also be accompanied by raising as with [ɔɪ] for /ai/ in OCRACOE BROGUE, North Carolina (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 369–370 [5.1]); a low-central onset, often rounded, also occurs in Ireland and Newfoundland, for example *time* [tʰɪm]. (3) ‘Diphthong flattening’ or ‘glide reduction’ are terms used to refer to the lack of an upward glide with the /ai/ diphthong (and in some few varieties with /au/ as well), that is *five* /faɪv/, *hide* /haɪd/ tend to be realized as [fɑ:v] and [hɑ:d] respectively in areas as far apart as the southern United States and South Africa (Lass 1987: 305–306 [1.5]; Wells 1982: 614 [1]), this glide reduction occurring preferentially before voiced segments. (4) For non-rhotic varieties the distinction between /ai/ and /au/ is not always clearly maintained before (historic) /r/, for example *tyre* and *tower* can be [taʔə] (Wells 1982: 239 [1]). (5) The shift of the onset for /au/ to the front, for example *down* [dɛʊn], is commonly attested in vernacular varieties in the south of England (Wells 1982: 303–304 and 347–348 [1]) and a degree of fronting is frequent elsewhere in the anglophone world.

The context-sensitive realization of diphthong onsets would seem to have a phonetic motivation: before voiceless segments the tongue shows increased tension which prevents it from lowering to a more open position, that is one that has a central rather than a low onset, see (1) above. Before voiced segments the tongue shows less tension resulting in a lax articulation with phonetic lengthening of the vowel. This can lead to a low onset for diphthongs, as in (1), and also to a lack of tongue movement with a reduction of the diphthong glide as the result, see (3) above.

**ain’t** A negated form found in many vernacular varieties. It can represent (i) negated *be* in the present: *She ain’t talkin’ to nobody* or (ii) negated *have* in the present: *I ain’t no time to go*

*there now*. In African American English it can stand for *didn't*, for example *He ain't say nothing* 'He didn't say nothing'. See VERB BE, NEGATIVE FORMS.

**Aitken, A. J. (1921–1998)** Scottish lexicographer and linguist known for his work on dictionaries of Scots and for his formulation of the SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE.

**Aitken's Law** See SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE.

**Aku** An English-based creole spoken in Gambia by a few thousand Aku people who are related to the liberated slaves of Sierra Leone. It is closely related to KRIO (spoken in SIERRA LEONE).

**Alford, Henry (1810–1871)** An English scholar, editor and poet. A prolific writer and later Dean of Canterbury, he published *A Plea for the Queen's English* in 1860 (later simply *The Queen's English*) in which he gave advice on issues of uncertainty in his day, such as the use of *shall* and *will*, that of *whom*, intrusive /r/ in words like *idea* (/r/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE), along with matters of orthography.

**alliteration** The repetition of a consonant or cluster at the beginning of a word used as a device in poetry or in set phrases. It is common in (British) English to form new phrases using alliteration, for example *lager lout*, *road rage*, *loony left*, ESTUARY ENGLISH.

**allomorph** A non-distinctive variant of a morpheme, for example /d/ and /t/ as an indicator of past tense with weak verbs. The allomorph used depends on the value for voice of the stem-final consonant, for example *walk* /wɔ:k/ ~ *walked* /wɔ:kt/ and *spell* ~ *spelled* /spel/ ~ /speld/. There is a further allomorph – /ɪd/ – found when the stem final consonant is an alveolar stop, for example *pit* /pɪt/ ~ *pitted* /pɪtɪd/; *weld* /weld/ ~ *welded* /weldɪd/.

**allophone** The realization of a phoneme, enclosed in square brackets. A phoneme can have different allophones, frequently depending on position in the word or on a preceding vowel, for example [l] and [ɫ] in standard English English, at the beginning and end of a word respectively. Varieties of English can vary in the allophones they have for phonemes which they have in common, for example there is a phoneme /r/ in every variety of English but its realizations vary greatly. See /r/, REALIZATION OF.

**allophones** In the Canadian province of Quebec this term refers to those people who are neither anglophones (English speakers) nor francophones (French speakers) and do not belong to the First Nations (aboriginal people). Typically, allophones are recent immigrants to Quebec.

**alphabet** A system of letters intended to represent the sounds of a language in writing. For all west European languages the Latin alphabet has been the outset for their writing systems. However, because each language has a different sound system different combinations of letters have arisen and letters have come to be written with additional symbols (diacritics) attached to them. In the historical development of English different spelling practices have arisen and others were adopted from abroad, for example the Anglo-Norman spelling of English, with <ou> for /u:/ or <th> for /θ, ð/, derives from medieval French.

**alphabet, pronunciation of** There are two letters of the English alphabet which vary significantly across the anglophone world. (1) The first is the last letter of the alphabet, <z>, which is pronounced [zed] in Britain and [zi:] in the United States. Where there are connections with both these countries, as in Canada (Chambers 2009 [1.1.1]), speakers may vacillate between pronunciations, but here [zed] is stable and [zi:] is the minority variant (chiefly among pre-school children). In the southern hemisphere which has a late British colonial legacy, the pronunciation is [zed]. A minor variant of this is [ə'zed] found in Ireland. (2) The letter *h* is normally pronounced without the sound itself, that is as [ɛɪtʃ]. However in Ireland, and significantly with the Catholic population of Northern Ireland, the pronunciation is /he:tʃ/.

**alphabetism** A proper name which is pronounced by reading out the letters of which it consists, for example *BBC* [bi: bi: si:], *UN* [ju: ɛn].

**Alternative Histories of English** The title of an influential volume edited by Richard Watts and Peter Trudgill (2001 [1]) in which the development of varieties outside the mainstream of southern English English formed the focus.

**alternatives, lexical** Some common words vary across major varieties of English, for example *faucet* and *tap*, *gas* and *petrol*, the first being American and the second British usage. In some cases, often because of the influence of American English, alternatives exist in one and the same variety, for example *rubbish* and *garbage* in English in England, although the latter word is traditionally regarded as American usage.

**alveolar** A reference to sounds which are formed at the alveolar ridge (the bone plate behind the upper teeth). Alveolar sounds are formed with the tip or the blade of the tongue. Examples are /t, d, s, z, l, n/ in English.

**alveolar realization of velar nasals** The use of an alveolar nasal for a velar one, typically in the present participle/gerund of verbs, for example *walking* ['wɒ:kɪŋ], but also for common nouns, for example *morning* ['mɒ:ɪnɪŋ]. This is probably an archaic feature in English. Wyld (1956 [1936]: 289 [1.5]) points to spelling evidence which suggests the alveolar [ɲ] for [ŋ] occurred in England at least from the fourteenth century onwards. It is a very widespread feature of vernaculars today and is often referred to as (ING), see Labov (1989 [1.6]).

**alveolo-palatal** A reference to sounds formed with the hard palate as passive articulator and the blade of the tongue as active articulator. Examples are the two English fricatives [ʃ] and [ʒ] as in *push* and *vision*.

**ambiguous** A term referring to an item or structure with two or more possible meanings and which requires a context for its interpretation, for example the homonyms *bear* or *bank*.

**amelioration** A semantic change which leads to an improvement in meaning as when *nice* progressed from 'ignorant' to 'pleasant' in the history of English.

**American Colonization Society** The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America (the full name) was founded in 1816 with the aim of repatriating freed slaves from the New World back to Africa. The society was instrumental in the establishment of the colony of Liberia in the 1820s, leading ultimately to the founding of the country Liberia in 1847.



**American Dialect Society** A society dedicated to the study of the English language in North America and other languages/varieties connected with this. Founded in 1889, it publishes the academic journal *American Speech*.

**American English** A collective term for varieties of English spoken in the United States, perhaps excluding vernacular forms in Hawai'i. It encompasses native speaker varieties and includes ethnic varieties such as AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH and first language CHICANO ENGLISH. Historically, American English has its roots in the English of early seventeenth-century settlers on the eastern coast. First-language English emigrants who arrived in the following century, notably the Ulster Scots are also taken to have had a formative influence on American English and their speech has a direct continuation in Appalachian English. Still later emigration groups, for example southern Irish of the nineteenth century are not assumed to have influenced mainstream American English apart from donating a few words. The larger numbers of other European nationalities which emigrated to the United States throughout its history, for example Germans, Scandinavians, Dutch, French, Poles and Italians along with Jews from various countries, did not play a decisive role in the emerging profile of American English.

The European history of North America begins with the discovery of Central America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 when he landed on the Bahamas. Various parts of the coast of North America were discovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Between 1584 and 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh began his attempts to colonize North Carolina (then part of 'Virginia' named after Queen Elizabeth I), including the first unsuccessful settlement on ROANOKE ISLAND. British colonization continued in the following years with the firm establishment of British rule at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Jamestown, Virginia 1607; Plymouth, New England, 1620; The Massachusetts Bay Colony (at the site of later Boston, 1630). Some other European countries were also directly involved in the conquest of America: the French in Canada but also the Dutch in New York (the city, founded in 1625, was called New Amsterdam until 1664).

Among the earliest states were those of the historical area of New England (not the name of a present-day state): Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island (Maine was later formed from northern Massachusetts and Vermont from an area between east New York state and west New Hampshire). New York state occupied an inland area immediately west of New England. Immediately south of New England were the four middle states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware. The remaining states belonged to the South: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. This group formed the original THIRTEEN COLONIES.

The eighteenth century saw the emigration of approximately a quarter of a million Ulster Scots from the north of Ireland to the colonies. These often settled in frontier regions, such as western Pennsylvania and further south in the inland mountainous regions of the colonies, founding varieties later recognizable as APPALACHIAN ENGLISH.

In 1776 the Thirteen Colonies declared independence in a military struggle against England. British rule ended after a disorganized and uncoordinated campaign against the rebellious Americans in 1777 which led to the Treaty of Paris (1783) conceding American sovereignty over the entire territory from the Great Lakes in the north down to Florida in the south. After independence the United States consolidated territories inland from the Atlantic coast and in 1803 purchased over 2 million sq km in central North America from the French for 15 million dollars, *see the* LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The colonization of North America proceeded from east to west (for both Canada and the United States). The western states were settled in the nineteenth century, first by pioneers

then by farmers and other settlers. The Gold Rush of 1848 led to the rise of California as a unit within the United States (just as the 1858 gold rush in British Columbia put it on the map that year, later joining the Canadian confederation in 1871). The last of the states to be founded were those in the region immediately east of the Rocky Mountains such as Wyoming (1890) and Utah (1896) and the more southerly states such as Arizona (1912) and Oklahoma (1907). Further territorial extensions were achieved by the annexation of land from Mexico (with the Peace of Guadalupe in 1848), with the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 and with an American presence on Hawai'i from 1878 onwards. The development of the states in the nineteenth century suffered a setback with the Civil War of 1861–1865, ostensibly caused by the refusal of the Southern states to abolish slavery, which they claimed was necessary for their plantation economy, and their attendant temporary secession from the Union.

Today the United States consists of a federation of 48 contiguous states along with Alaska and Hawai'i (to give 50). It has an area of 9.3 million sq km and a population of over 300 million. The ethnic composition is approximately 87 per cent white (including about 10 per cent Hispanics in increasing numbers), and 11 per cent African Americans. The capital is Washington, District of Columbia (on the border of Maryland and Virginia). English is de facto the official language of the United States but it does not have this status in the federal constitution.

Various immigrant groups have differentially retained their original languages, for example Italians and Jews (Yiddish). Immigrants vary greatly in the degree of language maintenance they exhibit, for example small groups like the Estonians show a high degree while the Ukrainians and the Irish have little or none. Of more recent origin are the many immigrants from Asian countries, for instance the Chinese, Japanese and Korean populations, especially on the west coast. The largest ethnic group in the present-day United States are the Latinos (Hispanics), chiefly in the south-west, now in excess of 35 million.

The traditional dialect regions of the United States are the following. (1) The North-East with Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine (the New England area, see above); (2) The Inland North consisting of up-state New York, northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, eastern Wisconsin and most of Michigan, this area enclosing the migration routes into the region of the Great Lakes in the nineteenth century, especially after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825; (3) The North Midland, stretching from Pennsylvania across to Southern Illinois; (4) The South Midland, a band lying south of this, approximately from Maryland across to eastern Oklahoma; (5) The South encompassing all the states from Virginia through North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana across to eastern Texas. A separate MIDLAND region is usually assumed (Montgomery 2004 [5.1.6]; it is posited in the *ATLAS OF NORTH AMERICAN ENGLISH*, see Chapter 20) and consists of an intersection of Lower North and Upper South in the classification offered by Carver (1987 [5.1.2]) but not generally accepted now. The five divisions just given encompass the eastern half of the present-day United States. The western half, all the states west of a line from Texas to North Dakota do not show comparable dialect differentiation, probably because the entire west was settled at a much later stage. Nonetheless, the following areas can be recognized: (1) Upper Midwest (Minnesota, northern Iowa and western Wisconsin); (2) South-West (New Mexico, Arizona, southern California, Nevada, Utah and Colorado); (3) West, the region from the Midwest, extending through the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast. Within these broad regions there are recognizable subareas, usually relic areas which preserve early dialect input features, for example Scots-Irish traits in APPALACHIAN ENGLISH. See also OCRACOE BROGUE, OZARK ENGLISH.



US inhabitants are highly mobile and internal migration has been responsible for the spread of features, for example the Southern rural form *fixin' to* as in *She's fixin' to go to church now* has recently spread from rural to urban areas in Oklahoma in the face of migration into the state (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 30–31 [5.1]). The following remarks refer to broadly supraregional speech in the United States, what is often termed 'General American (English)'. For speakers across the United States this is a non-regional accent though it may have evolved from Midwest accents or at least is closest to the accents of this area. Vernaculars of the Inland North are clearly distinguished from General American by their participation in the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT. There are different registers of supraregional speech in the United States forming a continuum from most to least colloquial. Certain features are present in colloquial registers, for example QUOTATIVE 'LIKE', which do not occur in higher registers.

**Pronunciation** (1) Presence of non-prevocalic /r/ (absent in southern vernaculars and recessively in the north-east). (2) Tensing of /æ/ in pre-nasal position, frequently with nasalization of the vowel. (3) Intervocalic /t/ commonly realized as a tap [ɾ]. (4) Frequent unrounding of /ɔ/ to [ɑ, a] making items of the LOT lexical set sound very different from English English. (5) No retraction of low vowels before voiceless fricatives or nasals, for example *grass*, *dance* both with [æ:] or [ɛ: / ɛə] in the latter word by pre-nasal tensing. (6) Absence of T-glottalization and H-dropping. (7) Word stress patterns can be different from English English, for example *a' dult* : '*adult*, '*direct* : *dɪ' rect*, '*address* : *ad' dress* : '*inquiry* : *in' quiry*.

**Grammar** (1) Increased use of unmarked adverbs. *He's awful tall. That's real funny. I near crashed the truck.* (2) Use of *do* for questions and negative sentences is more common than in England (equivalents given in brackets). *Did he have a chance to do it?* (*Had he a chance to do it?*). *Do you have you enough money?* *No, I don't* (*No, I haven't*). *He doesn't have a driving licence, sure he doesn't?* (*hasn't he?*). (3) A large number of phrasal verbs with different meanings from English English: *hold off* (= *restrain*); *figure out* (= *understand*); *check out* (= *leave*); *get through* (= *finish*); *count in* (= *include*); *stop by* (= *visit briefly*). (4) Differences among prepositions: *aside from* (= *besides*); *in back of* (= *behind*); *for* (= *after*), for example *The school was named for him.* *on* (= *in*), for example *I live on George Street.* *in* (= *into*), for example *He ran in the kitchen.* *than* (= *from*), for example *She is different than her sister.* *through* (= *from ... to*) *Monday through Friday.* (5) Lack of prepositions with expressions of time and the verb *write*: *I met him (on) Tuesday. I wrote (to) her last week.* (6) Pronominal usage allowing 'he' after 'one': *One never does what he should. One always deceives himself.*

**Vocabulary** Some American vocabulary reflects older English usage, for example *mail* for *post* (compare *Royal Mail* in England with the older form), *fall* for *autumn* (a French loan), though this probably is the case in only a minority of forms. In the following the first word corresponds to American, the second to British usage, but note that the American words are often found in English English as well: *apartment* / *flat*; *trash can* / *dustbin*; *attorney* / *solicitor*, *barrister*; *baby buggy* / *pram*; *bartender* / *barman*; *bug* / *insect*; *bus* / *coach*; *cab* / *taxi*; *candy* / *sweets*; *check* / *bill*; *chips* / (*potato*) *crisps*; *preacher* / *clergyman*; *clerk* / *shop assistant*; *coed* / *female student*; *store* / *shop*; *corporation* / *company*; *diaper* / *nappy*; *dishpan* / *washing-up basin*; *eraser* / *rubber*; *corn* / *maize*; *drugstore* / *chemist's*; *dumb* / *silly*; *elevator* / *lift*; *fall* / *autumn*; *first floor* / *ground floor*; *gas station* / *petrol station*; *first name* / *Christian name*; *flash-light* / *torch*; *French fries* / *chips*; *freshman* / *first year student*; *garbage* / *rubbish*; *grade* / *gradient*; *jelly* / *jam*; *liquor* / *spirits*; *highway patrolmen* / *mobile police*; *high school* / *secondary school*; *hood* / *bonnet*; *kerosene* / *paraffin*; *lumber* / *timber*; *mail* / *post*; *movie* / *film*, *picture*; *movies* / *cinema*, *pictures*; *muffler* / *silencer*; *doctor's office* / *surgery*; *pacifier* / *dummy*; *parking lot* / *car park*; *penitentiary* / *prison*; *period* / *full stop*; *pitcher* / *jug*; *realtor* / *estate*

*agent; roadster / two seater; roomer / lodger; section / district; sedan / saloon; quarter / term; sidewalk / pavement; sophomore / second year student; slingshot / catapult; highway / motorway; streetcar / tram; subway / underground; suspenders / braces; taffy / toffee; truck / lorry; trunk / boot; turtleneck / poloneck; undershirt / vest; vacation / holidays; weather bureau / met office; school / college; ride / drive; rise / raise; cookie / biscuit; faucet / tap.*

**Word formation** This is an innovative sphere of American English, though it is not always possible to state whether a new form derives solely from American usage, cf. the use of derivational suffixes: *-ster*: *gangster, oldster*; *-ician*: *beautician, cosmetician*; *-ee*: *escapee, returnee*; *-ette*: *roomette, drum-major-ette*; *-ite*: *socialite, sub-urbanite*; *-ize*; *to winterize, to itemize, to fictionalize*. Conversion as a word formation process is widespread as in English English. *a bug – to bug; resource – to resource; commercial* (adj.) *commercial* (noun); *hike* (verb) – *hike* (noun). There are also frequent instances of back-formation, for example *jelly* > *jell*; *enthusiasm* > *to enthuse*; *bachelor* > *to bach*. In the sphere of computing American English is virtually the only source of new English terms, for example *flatscreen, central processing unit, hard disk, USB-stick, solid-state drive, compact disc, graphics card, mainboard, broadband, cloud computing*.

**American English, influence on English in England** Throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century there has been a pervasive infiltration of American words into English in England, the more general of which coexist with their British counterparts. Some of these words are part of passive knowledge among speakers of English in England, for example *gas* ‘petrol’, while others are indeed used, for example *movie* ‘film’. The former group often consists of words which have a different meaning or a different semantic range in English in England, this blocking the adoption of the American meaning, for example *trailer* ‘caravan’ only means (with reference to vehicles) ‘articulated attachment to a car for transporting goods, material, etc.’ in English English.

The following examples consist of the American word followed by the traditional British word: *movie / film; mental / insane; can / tin; garbage / rubbish; gas / petrol; mad / angry; filling station / garage; elevator / lift; reel / spool; trailer / caravan; I guess / I think; truck / lorry; lumber / timber; French fries / chips*. In some cases the American term has successfully ousted the British one as in the case of *radio* for *wireless*. Certain prepositional verbs have become part of English English without users realizing their origin: *to put sth. over; to get sth. across; to stand up to; to go back on*. A few imports from American English have occurred without their being an exact English equivalent already, for example *okay* (nineteenth century, of uncertain origin), *phoney* (possibly of Irish origin in the United States).

**American English, Southern** A reference to those varieties of English spoken in the South of the United States. The SOUTH already begins at Virginia in the central Atlantic coast and stretches through the Carolinas down to Georgia and then across Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to eastern Texas. The latter area on the Gulf of Mexico is known as the Lower South because historically the South (of the original Thirteen Colonies) is now the south-east of the United States. Linguistically, the South would include the inland states West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Oklahoma. Florida, which was for a long time under Spanish control, does not historically belong to the linguistic South. Upper Southern speech is found in Kansas, Missouri and lower Indiana and Illinois (*see also* HOOSIER APEX). Given that the South is such a large area many of the statements about its features may not be true for all Southern varieties. See Nagle & Sanders (eds, 2003 [5.1.9]) for recent contributions on Southern English.

**Phonology** (1) A salient feature is the breaking of short vowels and the general lengthening / diphthongization of vowels (popularly termed ‘Southern Drawl’) with the flattening of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (see /AI/ AND /AU/, REALIZATION OF). Breaking involves a slight off-glide towards the end of a vowel articulation, for example *bin* [bɪ<sup>h</sup>n], *done* [dʌ<sup>ə</sup>n]. These developments are part of the SOUTHERN SHIFT in which the /i:/ in *meet* and the /e:/ in *mate* are retracted and lowered with the /ɪ/ in *bid* and the /ɛ/ in *bed* shifting upwards and to the front, diphthongizing in the process. The mid and high back vowels /u:/ and /o:/, as in *boot* and *boat* are fronted considerably. (2) The PEN-PIN MERGER involves the raising of the /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ before nasals and is widespread across the entire South. (3) The assimilation of /z/ to /d/ before /n/ is a widespread feature, especially in the Lower South: *wasn’t* > *wadn’t*, *business* > *bidness* (see Z-STOPPING, PRE-NASAL). This may be a relic dialect feature as it occurs in the British Isles as well, for example in south-east Ireland which had early input from the south-west of England. (4) The lack of a length distinction for /ɪ/ and /i:/ before /l/ rendering pairs like *feel* and *fill* homophones. Other features such as the stop realization of /ð/ may be more indicative of African American than of a Southern vernacular. Features such as the MARY-MERRY-MARRY MERGER may be part of a more general development in American English and hence not clearly indicative of the South (the first word tends to have /e/, Kretzschmar 2008: 47 [5.1]).

**Grammar** (1) Counterfactual *liketa*: *It was so cold, I liketa froze* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 52 [5.1]), historically from *like to have*. (2) *Y’all* as a second person plural pronoun: *Where y’all goin’?* (3) A-prefixing: *The wind was a-blowin’ hard all day*. (4) Auxiliary *done*: *I done crash the truck*. (5) Non-standard distribution of *was* and *were*. *We was tryin’ real hard all the time* (see VERBAL CONCORD, NON-STANDARD). (6) Use of oblique pronoun forms to express relevance: *I made me a big pie*. (7) Inchoative *fixin’*: *They’re fixin’ to mend the road*. (8) Distal locative adverb *yonder*: *Those fields yonder need drainin’*. (9) Copula deletion, as in *They wor-kin’ in town these days*, is found in older white Southern speech and in African American English.

**American English, spelling** The spelling of American English has been a concern since the late eighteenth century when Noah Webster, the father of American lexicography, brought out his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789) in which he suggested separating American from British English. Certain spelling changes proposed by Webster are older forms, such as *-er* for *-re* (cf. *theater*) or *-or* for *-our* (cf. *honour*) and not all of Webster’s suggestions became part of American English spelling, for example his proposal that one write *oo* for *ou* in words like *soup* and *group*. In general, American English has single instances of sonorants in past forms of verbs, for example *traveled*, *labeled*, *occured*, as well as single letters in many spellings of neo-classical formations in English, for example *program* (British *programme*), though *diagram* is the spelling in both British and American English. Shorter forms of words are also preferred, for example *dialog* for *dialogue* and spellings in *-nse* are found for *-nce* in British English, for example *defense*, *offense*, *license*. *F* can replace *ph*, for example *sulfur* versus *sulphur*, while *f* or *w* can correspond to *gh*, for example *draft* versus *draught* and *plow* versus *plough*, and *in-* equates to *en-* in *inquiry* (British *enquiry/inquiry*) and *inclosure* (British *enclosure*).

**American Heritage Dictionary** A major American dictionary published in Boston by Houghton Mifflin in part as a reaction to the tolerant attitude to colloquial language shown in *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (1961). However, it combines prescriptive and descriptive statements and derives the latter from authentic texts of American English.

**American Language, The** An influential book (1919 with later editions and supplements) by the American journalist and popular author Henry Louis MENCKEN.

**American Revolution** The political and military campaign in the late 1770s and early 1780s to achieve independence for the THIRTEEN COLONIES. The separation from Britain led to a movement of Loyalists, of about 12,000–20,000 by 1800, from the American colonies northwards into Canada (Dollinger 2008: 67 [1.2.6]). Soon they were joined by ‘late Loyalists’, in search of free land grants rather than a territory still loyal to Britain. This provided an input of early American speech during the formative period of Canadian English (Bloomfield 1948 [1.2.6.], Dollinger 2008: 64–68 [1.2.6.]). Other destinations for those Loyalists who left the American colonies were Spanish-controlled Florida and islands of the Caribbean such as the Bahamas where black slaves were also taken in.

**American Samoa** *See* SAMOA, AMERICAN.

**American Sign Language** A fully-fledged sign language, developed in the United States in the nineteenth century. The system was initiated by Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (1787–1851), a Protestant minister from Martha’s Vineyard who wanted to have a manual-visual system for communication with his deaf daughter. With a few others he founded the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and adopted many elements of French sign language which he had become acquainted with in a visit to Paris (his efforts to gain support for his enterprise in England were in vain). American Sign Language is quite dissimilar from British Sign Language although both represent English. The sign language is generally regarded as an equivalent to natural language with a structured phonology, grammar and vocabulary.

**American Speech** *See* AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

**Amish** [ɑ:mɪʃ] A term for anabaptist communities, largely in the USA (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana) and Canada (Ontario), who practise a traditional lifestyle different from their surroundings. *See* PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN.

**analogical change** A type of change where one element changes to another on the basis of a similar pattern which already exists, the latter providing the model for the change, for example a plural *fishes* on the basis of *dish*: *dishes*. Another example would be the vernacular plural *youse* /ju:z/ formed by adding the plural morpheme {S} to *you*. The similarity in such cases is usually phonetic. Analogy also applies in grammar, for instance where a regular structural pattern provides a model. In Irish English positive epistemic *must* provided the model for the negative by the addition of a negator, that is *mustn’t* means ‘it cannot be the case’, as in *He mustn’t be Canadian*, where standard English would have *He can’t be Canadian*. Analogical change may have the effect of masking earlier changes in a language and must always be considered when reconstructing historical forms.

**analytic** A term used for a language which tends to use free morphemes to indicate grammatical categories. Modern English is largely analytic. Other languages, such as Chinese or Vietnamese, are much more analytic and approach a relationship of one word per morpheme.

**analytical comparison** A comparison formed by using the words *more* or *most* rather than by suffixing *-er* or *-est*. It usually applies to adjectives of more than two syllables and in some cases of just two, for example *simpler*, *simplest* but often *more common*, *most common*.

**anaphora** Grammatical elements which refer back to something which has already been mentioned in a discourse, for example *Nora bought a new car recently but is not satisfied with it*. The reference often crosses a sentence boundary and thus is important in creating cohesion in texts or speech.

**Anglo-** (1) A prefix which means ‘connected to or derived from England/English’ as in *Anglo-Norman* (a form of French in England in the Middle Ages). (2) A reference to forms of English in different Asian countries which show some historical continuity, usually through the mixing of colonial and local populations, for example *Anglo-Indian*, *Anglo-Malay*.

**Anglo-Celtic** A reference to that section of the Australian population which is of English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh origin. This excludes Aborigines and later European / Middle Eastern immigrants such as Italians, Croatians, Greeks or Lebanese.

**anglocentric** A term which implies that an approach or analysis, in language or literature, is biased towards England and takes the privileged status of English culture for granted. Much criticism is found in post-colonial studies of earlier stances in literature, and sometimes in linguistics, which are covertly, or even overtly, anglocentric.

**Anglo-Indians** A section of the population of present-day India who are of British male and Indian female descent, a legacy of the colonial involvement with India. This group consists of about 100,000 native speakers of English today and is mentioned in the Indian constitution. See Coelho (1997 [7.1.1]). Historically, the term also referred to English people born in India, for example the writer Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936). See EURASIAN.

**Anglo-Irish** A term formerly used as a label for varieties of English in Ireland (this usage was also found outside Ireland, for example in Canada (Kirwin 2001 [5.2.8])). It was also common in references to literature and in politics.

**anglophone** A term used to refer to English-speaking countries or to PIDGINS and CREOLES which have English as their LEXIFIER LANGUAGE.

**Angloromani** A combination of English and Romani spoken by groups of Romani in England and also the United States and to a much lesser extent in South Africa and Australia. See Bakker and Kenrick (2007 [2.11]).

**Anglo-Saxon** A reference to the language and culture of the Germanic settlers in England during the Old English period (450–1066). As a linguistic term it has generally been replaced by ‘Old English’.

**Anglo-Saxonism** (1) A word, phrase or grammatical structure which consists solely of Germanic elements. In previous centuries there were many writers who sought to rid English of those borrowings from classical languages which they felt were alien to English. Replacements were suggested, for example *witcraft* for *knowledge*, but did not gain wide acceptance. The Dorset dialect poet and scholar, William Barnes (1801–1886), was one of the major supporters of the move to ‘purify’ English in this way, see his *An Outline of Speech-Craft* (1878, London: Kegan Paul). (2) The support of an exclusively Germanic pedigree for the English race and a belief in its inherent superiority.



**angloversal** A restriction of the notion of VERNACULAR universal to features of English vernaculars, for example that adverbs tend to have the same form as adjectives as in *His sister is real pretty*.

**Anguilla** A small island in the Caribbean, the most northerly of the Leeward Islands with a population of less than 15,000. The island was colonized by the British in the mid-seventeenth century and is now a British Overseas Territory. Anguillan Creole is the basilectal form of English of the island and is related to other Eastern Caribbean creoles.

**animate** A term for any word or category which refers to a living being, for example the object of a verb. Changes in animacy restrictions have occurred in recent English, for example the verb *alarm* can now take an inanimate object as in *This door is alarmed* ‘fitted with an alarm’. A use with an animate object would be *Fiona was alarmed (by his behaviour)*.

**anthropology, cultural** The study of differences and similarities between races and cultures which can also include language in which case the subfield is known as linguistic anthropology. The latter is normally concerned with issues of language use rather than structure, for example pragmatics, discourse, politeness norms, ritual language. See ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION.

**anthropology, linguistic** See ANTHROPOLOGY, CULTURAL.

**anti-deletion** A term devised by the South African linguist Rajend Mesthrie to refer to the appearance of sentence elements in BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH which would not normally surface in more standard varieties of English, for example *As it can be seen **that** there is a problem here. Why do you let your son **to** speak Zulu? She made me **to** go.* Mesthrie (2006 [6.3.1.3]).

**Antigua and Barbuda** A two-island country in the Eastern Caribbean whose name derives from the Spanish for ‘old and bearded’. A British colony from 1632 to 1981 (with a brief spell of French dominance), the island has a population of over 80,000 and an area of 440 sq km. English is the official language. However, Eastern Caribbean creole is used in informal situations by the majority of the population. Colloquial Arabic, Portuguese, and some Indian languages represent non-indigenous languages spoken by minorities in some parts of the islands. See Aceto (2002 [5.3.2]).

**Antilles** A cover term applying to all the islands of the central Caribbean except Turks & Caicos and the Bahamas which lie to the north of the Greater Antilles. The Antilles are divided into two groups, the Greater and Lesser Antilles. The former comprise Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (divided politically into Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Puerto Rico, the largest islands of the Caribbean, plus some associated small islands. The Lesser Antilles, extending in an arc south of Puerto Rico to the north-eastern coast of South America, include the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands as well as Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (ABC islands). The Netherlands Antilles, including Margarita, lie just offshore Venezuela as do Trinidad and Tobago which, together with some anglophone islands further north, such as Barbados and St Lucia, form the Windward Islands.

**antiquarianism** A preoccupation with artefacts of the past, in the current context with language documents. A typical activity of writers and scholars of the eighteenth century, it led to the recording of dialects of English of the time, such as the glossary for FORTH AND BARGY by the English army officer Charles Vallancey.

**antonym** One of a pair of words which have opposite meanings, for example *dead–alive*. There are graded antonyms which allow different degrees, (*somewhat*) *black–(very) white*, and non-graded antonyms which are binary, *single–married*.

**anymore, positive** A grammatical structure found in vernaculars of the Midland area of the United States (and further into the west, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 152 [5.1]; Eitner 1991 [5.1]) as in *They go to Florida on their holidays anymore*. It may well derive from the speech of eighteenth-century Ulster Scots settlers whose predecessors had in turn picked this up from native speakers of Irish before emigration. Butters (2001: 331–332 [5.1]) considers positive *anymore* an extension of the negative use and is doubtful of the proposed Scots-Irish connection.

**Aotearoa** The name for New Zealand in the indigenous language Maori meaning ‘(land of the) long white cloud’, lit. ‘cloud [*ao*] white [*tea*] long [*roa*]’.

**apex** (1) The tip of the tongue, adjective: *apical* or *apico-*. The apex is used to produce sounds mainly by forming closure with the alveolar ridge, for instance when articulating [t, d, n]. The tip can also make contact just behind the upper teeth (in front of the alveolar ridge) resulting in dental sounds, for example [t̪, d̪], or just behind the alveolar ridge resulting in retroflex sounds, for example [t̠, d̠]. (2) A pointed geographical region which extends into another and represents an area of speech from the first region in the second, for example the HOOSIER APEX. Another example would be the extension of [ʊ] in the STRUT lexical set (a feature of northern English) down into Oxfordshire in central England (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 14 [2.1]).

**aphasia** A very general term for language malfunctions which result from brain damage, through accident or disease, but not usually present from birth. The malfunctions can affect production or understanding and may involve the phonetics, grammar or vocabulary of language or any combination of these levels.

**apocope** The loss of a sound at the end of the word. This is a common diachronic development: English has lost virtually all grammatical endings which it possessed in Old English, except for plural markers and the -s of the third person singular present tense.

**Appalachian English** The vernacular varieties spoken by the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Appalachian Mountains, a geological feature stretching from New Brunswick in Canada down to Alabama in the United States, running some distance inland parallel to the Atlantic coast. Appalachian English is also spoken in diaspora communities such as in so-called ‘rust belt’ cities of the Midwest (Anderson 2008 [5.1.10]) and logging communities in the Pacific North-West. From south to north the Appalachians cover the north-eastern tip of Alabama, north Georgia, north-west South Carolina, east Tennessee and Kentucky, a small portion of west North Carolina, all of West Virginia and the west of Virginia extending northwards into Pennsylvania,

upstate New York through Vermont, Connecticut and Maine into Canada. The Appalachians consist of various subareas, such as the Blue Ridge Mountains which in their southern end contain the Great Smoky Mountains (south-east Tennessee, north Georgia), a region where Appalachian English is particularly prominent. The south-central Cumberland Mountains contain the Cumberland Gap – at the juncture of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee – through which Europeans moved in the late eighteenth century initiating settlement west of the Appalachians.

Scots and Ulster Scots settlers who first began to arrive in the mid seventeenth century had a formative influence on later Appalachian English which lasted throughout the eighteenth century when tens of thousands of Ulster Scots settled in what was then the frontier area of the THIRTEEN COLONIES. It developed in isolation and has maintained many relic features of its input varieties. See Wolfram (1976 [5.1.8]), Montgomery (1989 [5.1.8], 2004 [5.1.8]), Anderson (2013 [5.1.8]).

**Phonology** (1) non-standard initial /h/ in words, for example, *bit* for *it*. (2) Reduction of final *-ow* to rhotacized schwa, for example *yellow* [jɛləʔ], *fellow* [fɛləʔ].

**Grammar** (1) *A*-prefixing with present participles, for example *He kept a-beggin' for more*. (probably English dialect input, Montgomery 2001: 148 [5.1.1]; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 373–374 [5.1]). (2) *Done* as a marker of perfective aspect, for example *They done left their farm*. (3) Double modals within a single verb phrase, for example *He might could come tomorrow*. (4) The use of *right* and *plumb* as intensifying adverbs.

**apparent time** A reference to a technique in SOCIOLINGUISTICS whereby the speech of older speakers is examined to determine what the variety they speak was like at the time of their youth. The technique rests on the (not uncontested) assumption that speakers' accents do not vary considerably after early adulthood. See REAL TIME.

**applied linguistics** The application of insights from theoretical linguistics to practical matters such as language teaching, language planning, remedial linguistics.

**approximant** A consonant which is produced with very little friction, that is by bringing the active and passive articulators close together but not touching, for example [j] as in *yes* [jes] or [w] as in *wet* [wɛt]. Approximants are vowel-like and show high sonority and often merge with vowels when they are in the coda of a syllable.

***a*-prefixing** A feature of English dialects which was transported to the United States, especially to Appalachia. It consists of the prefix *a-* /ə/ on a present participle to convey a durative sense, for example *They were a-plowin' the fields last week*. Historically, the prefix developed from the preposition *on* which with time was reduced to schwa (as in *asleep*, *alive*, etc.). See Wolfram (1991 [5.1.2]).

**archaism** Any item or structure which is still present in a language but regarded as a relic from previous usage, for example the verb *wend* 'to go' in English. Archaisms are often confined to set phrases as in *to wend one's weary way*.

**Archaizers** A collective term applied to those English scholars and writers who favoured the revival of obsolete words to expand the vocabulary of English rather than borrowing from classical languages. The poet Edmund Spenser (?1552–1599) is among the best-known representatives of this group. See NEOLOGIZERS.



**areal linguistics** The study of languages/varieties from the point of view of their geographical distribution and the possible clustering of features in certain areas. Shared features which are not traceable to common dialect input are normally the focus of attention. See Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.1.2]).

**argot** A non-linguistic term for the speech of a particular group, for example a profession or trade. In general it is deliberately secretive with vocabulary and phrases not readily comprehensible to others in contact with the group in question. See CANT.

**article** A grammatical word – or affix – accompanying a noun and specifying definiteness or its absence. It may vary for gender and case in languages with gender distinctions and a formal case system such as German. In English there are two articles, definite *the* and indefinite *a* with *an* a variant of the latter before vowels. In some varieties, above all in second language varieties in Africa and perhaps in Asia the distinction in article may be known versus unknown rather than definite versus indefinite, reflecting usage in the background languages of speakers.

**article, reduction of definite** See DEFINITE ARTICLE REDUCTION.

**article, use of** In varieties of English which historically have been in contact with Celtic languages the definite article is found in generic senses. This usage may be extended to those varieties which in turn have been in contact with Celtic varieties of English (Harris 1993: 144–145 [3.3]). The definite article in forms of American English has been viewed as a legacy of Irish influence (Montgomery 2001: 133 [5.1.1]; Butters 2001: 337 [5.1]). The following is a brief list of contexts in which the definite article appears contrary to more standard usage: (1) Generic statements *The life there is hard*. (2) Institutions: *She's gone to the hospital. The young ones are going to the school already*. (3) Diseases: *The child has got the measles*. (4) Seasons: *We left in the spring*. The following are contexts in which the definite article is only found in vernaculars, above all in Ireland: (5) Quantifiers: *He asked the both of them*. (6) Abstract nouns, including languages and objects of study: *Well, I think she likes the languages*. (7) Parts of the body, afflictions: *There's nothing done by the hand anymore. It nearly broke the leg on me. I always had problems with the ol' back*. (8) Relatives, spouses, in-laws: *Go in now to see the mother*. (9) Days of the week, months, seasons, occasions: *So we went into town on the Saturday. Well, how did the Christmas go for you?* See also DEFINITE ARTICLE.

**articulation** The set of muscular movements necessary to produce a specific sound. A distinction is made between manner of articulation (stop, fricative, nasal, lateral, *r*-sound) and place of articulation, the point in the supraglottal tract at which the articulation takes place.

**articulatory phonetics** One of three standard divisions of phonetics which concerns itself with the production of sounds. See also ACOUSTIC and AUDITORY PHONETICS.

**articulatory setting** A reference to the overall positioning of the tongue, jaws and lips along with the configuration of the throat which generally varies from language to language. Hence second-language speakers may sound different from native speakers even though they observe all phonemic distinctions in a language and largely keep to allophonic realizations. See Honikman (1964 [1]), Laver (1980 [1]).

**as / at** Two polysemous words in English which in the standard can function as adverbs, conjunctions or prepositions. There are also non-standard usages as relative particles, for example *It's his brother as crashed the car*; *Their neighbours at went abroad*. (the latter usage may stem from the reduction of relative *what*). See Anderwald (2008: 457 [2.7]).

**Asian Englishes** A collective reference to forms of English spoken in South Asia and South-East Asia from Pakistan to the Philippines. There is a considerable range of English in these countries, from poor second language knowledge to near-native competence (recently in Singapore, for instance). A common trait of these varieties is that they have arisen not through large numbers of anglophone settlers but through exposure to English in public life, typically in education.

**Asian languages** The continent of Asia stretches from Turkey in the west to Japan in the east and from northern Siberia to Sri Lanka in the centre and Singapore in the south-east (with the island nations of Indonesia and the Philippines further south-east still). A great diversity of languages is found in this large area. The following list is approximate. (1) *West Asia*: (a) *Caucasian languages*, (b) *Indo-European languages*; (2) *Siberia*: (a) *Uralic languages* (*Finno-Ugric*, *Samoyedic*, *Yukaghir*), (b) *Paleosiberian languages*; (3) *Central Asia*: (a) *Altaic languages* (*Turkic*, *Mongolian*, *Tungusic*); (4) *China*: (a) *Sino-Tibetan* (*Sinitic*, *Tibeto-Burman*); (5) *Middle East, South Asia*: (a) *Indo-European*, (b) *Afroasiatic*, (c) *Dravidian*; (6) *South-East Asia*: (a) *Tibeto-Burman*, (b) *Tai-Kadai*, (c) *Austroasiatic* (*Munda languages*, *Mon-Khmer group*), (d) *Miao-Yao* (*Hmong-Mien*).

**ASK-metathesis** In the history of English (for dialects in England and Ireland, and by extension elsewhere, for example Newfoundland) as well as in African American English and some varieties of African English, such as Ghanaian English, the word *ask* occurs with the stop before the sibilant, that is it is pronounced as [æks] (written dialectally as *ax/axe*), a metathesized form of [æsk]. The standard English form *ask* is probably itself a metathesized form, cf. the Old English verb *axian* [-ks-] 'ask'.

**aspect** One of the three respects in which verbs may vary (the other two being TENSE and MOOD). Aspect refers to the way in which an action is viewed by the speaker, that is as being terminated (*perfective*), ongoing (*progressive*), recurring (*habitual*), etc. Put simply, tense specifies when an action takes place and aspect how (the internal structure of a temporal event) while mood refers to whether an action is actual or hypothetical, whether a verb represents a statement or a command. CREOLES are noted for having complex aspectual distinctions and those which have developed from English have a more nuanced aspect system than the original input. Table 1 shows divisions of aspectual types which are documented for varieties of English.

(1) The progressive is established in all varieties of English, for example *She was singing when he arrived home* and is currently expanding, for example encompassing verbs like *want* (*I'm wanting to leave that matter be*). Black South African English, along with other second language varieties, shows increased use of the progressive: *I've been knowing English for many years*.

(2) The habitual exists in English by contrast with the progressive, for example *He's meeting the students (now)* versus *He meets the students (every Thursday morning)* (habitual). In addition

**Table 1** Classification of aspectual types.

<i>Information about action</i>	<i>Aspect</i>
duration	progressive
repetition	habitual
initiation	inchoative
completion	perfective
<i>Sub-division of perfective</i>	<i>Types</i>
very recent completion	immediate perfective
completion of planned action	resultative perfective
<i>Sub-division of habitual</i>	<i>Types</i>
repeated shorter action	iterative
repeated longer action	durative

many traditional dialects of English have explicit marking of the habitual, with the verb *do*, by using *be* + inflectional *-s* or combinations of these, for example *He does be drinking a lot*, *He bees drinking a lot*, *He does drink a lot* (with unstressed *does*). The dialects with an explicit habitual usually occur in Celtic areas, for example Ireland or south-west England (former Cornish area), and by extension Newfoundland, a fact which strongly suggests that language contact has played a role in its genesis. African American English also has an habitual, expressed via finite *be*, *He be out drinking a lot*. There are two types of habitual, one indicating a repeated brief action and one referring to a repeated but longer action. In Irish English, especially of the south-east, an inflectional *-s* expresses the iterative habitual, for example *They calls this place City Square*, while *does be* / *dub* [də] *be* is found for the durative habitual, for example *She does be worrying about the children*.

(3) Inchoative aspect indicates the beginning of an action and is less frequent than the other types. An interesting example is the structure *let us*, as in *Let us start to work*, because its contracted form *let's* is developing more the sense of an auxiliary, for example *Let's make a pot of tea* 'I'll make a pot of tea'.

(4) Perfective aspect is widespread in the world's languages and in some, such as the Slavic languages, pairs of perfective and imperfective verbs are found. In varieties of English a distinction is common between an immediate perfective and a resultative perfective. The immediate perfective with *after* is a calque on Irish *tar éis* (Harris 1993: 141 [3.3]) which is used for precisely the same purpose. It also exists in Newfoundland English as a transfer feature from Irish English input. There are a variety of means to express an immediate perfective which usually has high informational value for the hearer. For instance, in Southern American English *done* is used, for example *He done ruined the house*, *She done sold her car*. The resultative perfective indicates that something planned is now completed. In Irish English the word order 'Object + Past Participle' is used (Harris 1993: 160 [3.3]; Hickey 2007b: Chapter 4 [3.3]), for example *I've the book read* 'I am finished reading the book' which contrasts with *I've read the book* 'I read it once' (the O + PP word order has a precedent in the history of English but also an equivalent in Irish in which the past participle always follows the object: *Tá an leabhar léite agam* lit.: 'is the book read at-me'). This type of perfective would seem to occur more widely than just Irish English (and Newfoundland English). The resultative perfect generally precludes the causative

interpretation for this word order, that is *He has the car washed* does not mean ‘He gets someone to wash the car’ unless an agent is specified, for example *He has the car washed by his son at the weekends*.

**aspect, historical spread of** Throughout the anglophone world habitual aspect, with either a form of *do* or of *be*, is found. There are various subtypes, for example *do* alone, inflected or not; *do* + *be* inflected or not; *be*, inflected or not, for example (1) *He does be working all night*. (2) *He bees working all night*. One, not uncontested view (Rickford 1986 [5.1.10]) maintains that the type in (1) can ultimately be traced to southern Irish English and the type in (2) to northern Irish English. Furthermore, Rickford maintains that the structure found in (1) was carried to the Caribbean and that in (2) to the southern United States, spreading from there to African American English (but see Montgomery and Kirk 1996 [5.1.10.4] for an opposing view). In African American English the habitual is expressed by invariant *be* (Green 1998 [5.1.10]; Labov 1998: 120–124 [5.1.10]).

**aspirated** Refers to the presence of a small puff of breath after a sound, usually a plosive, suggesting a brief [h]. Voiceless stops are normally aspirated in English (unless they follow /s/). However, in second language varieties this varies depending on whether such stops are aspirated in background languages, *see* AFRIKAANS ENGLISH.

**assimilation** A process during which one or more features of a sound are anticipated by a neighbouring sound, usually the more sonorous of the two, for example *want to* > *wanna*, *going to* > *gonna*. The resolution of assimilation can vary as with a word like *sandwich* [sænwtɪʃ] (/nd/ > [n]) or [sæmwɪtʃ] (/nd/ > [m]) or [sæŋwtɪʃ] (/nd/ > [ŋ]).

**Atlantic creoles** A collective reference to the creoles spoken in West Africa and in the Caribbean region including remnants of African American creoles such as GULLAH. Also termed ‘Atlantic group’. *See* PACIFIC CREOLES.

***Atlas of North American English*** A major publication in 2006 by William LABOV, the founder of modern sociolinguistics, along with his colleagues Sharon Ash and Charles Boberg. The atlas offers a comprehensive overview of the dialects of North America, regional patterns, mergers and current changes in varieties across this large area. *See* TELSUR.

***Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*** A project housed at the Max Planck Institute in Leipzig to gather and compare synchronic data on the structures of some 76 pidgin and creole languages. The database used consists of 120 features from different levels of language. *See* Michaelis, Maurer, Haspelmath and Huber (eds, 2013 [9]).

**attributive** An adjective placed before a noun and specifying a quality as in *His beautiful wife*. Some adjectives occur preferentially in this position, for example *front* in *A front vowel* and not as a PREDICATIVE adjective: ?*The vowel is front*. The opposite can also be true, for example *galore* as in *There was beer galore at the party*, but not \**galore beer* or *The child is asleep* but not \**The asleep child*.

**auditory phonetics** One of the three standard divisions of phonetics which is concerned with the perception of sounds.

**AU-fronting** See MOUTH-FRONTING.

**augmentatives** Adverbs which add emphasis to a statement. These vary greatly across varieties of English and have varied historically as well. Examples would be: *That climb was fierce difficult. The drive was pure hell. They're just plain stupid. His family is mega rich.*

**Austin, John Langshaw** (1911–1960) English philosopher. Born in Lancaster and educated in Oxford where he taught after World War II until his death. He was a representative of the ‘ordinary language’ school of philosophy. In his posthumously published book *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford University Press, 1962) he outlined his theory of speech acts which was central to the later development of linguistic pragmatics.

**Australian Aboriginal Kriol** A creole which developed in the area of Sydney during the period of initial settlement by English speakers in the nineteenth century. Kriol was then taken westwards and northwards with nineteenth-century demographic movements in Australia. It gradually receded except for the extreme north of Australia where it survived as a means of communication in the high-contact situation between English, native peoples and Asians. It is still spoken by about 30,000 people. See Sandefur (1991 [8.1.2]).

**Australian English** A collective term for the varieties of English spoken in Australia. This would include the speech of the descendants of white settlers as well as Aborigines and the newer emigrants of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Cox 2012b [8.1]). Australia, the southern land, has known different colonial periods. In the early seventeenth century a Dutch expedition under Willem Jansz arrived at the Torres Strait around the same time as Luis de Torres himself. In 1611 some Dutch ships, sailing eastward from the Cape of Good Hope, reached western Australia. Two further expeditions were undertaken by the Dutchman Abel Tasman after whom the large island off the south/south-east coast – Tasmania (formerly Van Diemens Land) – is named. Tasman also explored New Zealand. The first expedition, in 1642, was along the south, across to New Zealand, then north through the South-West Pacific and back north of Papua New Guinea. The second, in 1644, explored north Australia. In 1688 the British explorer William Dampier (1651–1715) explored the north-east; in 1699–1700 he continued, both times writing an exhaustive account of his journeys. However, British involvement in Australia really got underway with James Cook (1728–1779) who, in three major explorations – 1768–1770, 1772–1775 and 1776–1779 – firmly established Australia as an object of colonial interest for Britain. In the last two decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries some more explorations by the French and English were undertaken, for instance by Matthew Flinders (1774–1814) who circumnavigated Australia and favoured the use of that name rather than the older New Holland. Originally Australia was used as relief for overcrowded British prisons, for example the First Fleet in 1787 sailed with between 750 and 780 convicts on board; some 250 free persons also sailed. Britain established several penal colonies and by the first quarter of the nineteenth century most of the south-east coast of Australia had been settled by the British. By 1830 probably more than 50,000 convicts had been deported. The decades from 1830 to 1860 saw the rise of Australia as an agricultural and mining economy, the formation of four of Australia’s six states and the beginning of the period of non-convict settlers. The economy centred mainly around the production of wool and grain on the one hand and the exploitation of Australia’s mineral resources (copper, nickel, etc.) on the other. For a time in the late nineteenth century gold and silver mining was important.

The infrastructure of Australia was greatly improved by the construction of railways in the 1880s. In 1901 the Federation of Australia (consisting of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia and the island Tasmania) was formed. Today Australia is independent but still a member of the British Commonwealth with the English monarch as the official head of state. Australia has an area of approximately 7,682,300 sq km and a population of about 23 million. The capital is Canberra, the two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, have a population of approximately 4½ and 4 million respectively. The main language is English, a large variety of native languages are spoken in small quantities by Aboriginal communities (native Australians). The white population derives traditionally from English or Irish/Scottish immigrants and is known as ‘Anglo-Celtic’. In the twentieth century there was immigration from other European and Middle Eastern countries, for example Greece, Italy and the Lebanon. Furthermore, Australia feels the proximity to major Asian neighbours like China, Japan and Korea and has immigrant populations from these countries along with India.

There are different views on the origin of Australian English. One is that it was already an established variety when taken to Australia. Another is that it was in origin a mixed dialect, but that this mixing took place in England rather than in Australia. Yet another option is that some of the mixing took place in the cramped quarters on ships during the long voyage from England to Australia. But whatever varieties were spoken on first arrival in Australia these were subject to further developments on contact with speakers from areas outside the Home Counties in England, notably with Irish and to a lesser extent Scottish settlers (Burridge 2010 [8.1]). Initial /h-/ in Australian English supports this standpoint. It would appear to have been lacking in much nineteenth-century input (as in New Zealand) and to have been reinstated, perhaps due to contact with *h*-pronouncing speakers, notably Irish but also Scottish (especially in New Zealand), and some speakers from outside the Home Counties area, for example from East Anglia (Trudgill 1986: 139 [1.2.3]). The role of education and general prescriptivism should be mentioned here (Gordon 2012 [8.2]). Australian English has a general south-east English flavour, it is non-rhotic and has strong diphthongal pronunciations in the FACE, TIME and GOAT lexical sets. By and large Australian English does not have features of Home Counties English which post-date early immigration, for example the realization of intervocalic /t/ as glottal stop as in *butter* [bʌʔə]. However, some features may occur probably due to later internal developments in Australia, for example the vocalization of /l/ as in *milk* [mɪʊk], though the later settlement of South Australia may have provided an impetus for this (Horvath & Horvath 2002 [8.1]).

Varieties of Australian English have often been divided into three types labelled ‘Broad’, ‘General’ and ‘Cultivated’, but a more recent tripartite division is ‘Mainstream’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Ethnocultural’, based on somewhat different criteria (Cox 2012a [8.1]). The following remarks apply chiefly to ‘General/ Mainstream Australian English’ but are also valid for many other varieties.

*Phonology* (1) Australian English is non-rhotic. (2) Traditionally, short front vowels are noticeably raised compared to English English: *bad* [bɛd], *bed* [bɛd], a feature shared with other Southern Hemisphere Englishes, such as South African and New Zealand English. Of recent date is the lowering of short vowels, notably the TRAP vowel. (3) Many diphthongs are shifted somewhat when compared to values in southern English English, for example the onset of the FACE vowel is lowered: *made* [mæɪd], the onset of the TIME vowel is retracted: *high* [hæɪ] and the onset of the CHOICE vowel is raised: *point* [pɔɪnt]. (4) MOUTH-fronting also occurs: *how* [hæʊ]. (5) T-lenition is found with many speakers in word-final, unchecked position, for example *about* [əˈbæʊt̚]. (6) Syllable-coda velarized /l/, as in *rule* [ruːɫ], is frequently



vocalized, particularly in South Australia. (7) GOOSE-FRONTING, as in *rude* [rʉ:d], is widespread. (8) HIGH-RISING TERMINALS are common especially with younger female Australians.

**Morphology** Many compounds are formed with typical first elements, for example *bush* as in *bushfire*, *bushman*. Many meanings are derived from the components which are used to form compounds, for example *outback* (from *out* and *back*); *weekender* (from ‘to spend a weekend in a country house’). Back formations, such as *to verse* ‘play against in sports’ (from *versus*) also occur.

**Vocabulary** HYPOCORISTICS, for example *arvo* ‘afternoon’, *sickie* ‘sick leave’, *kiddo* ‘kid’, *jamies* ‘pyjamas’, *Aussie* ‘Australia’, *barbie* ‘barbecue’, *bickie* ‘biscuit’, *compo* ‘workers’ compensation pay’, *cozzie* ‘swimming costume’ are common and a hallmark of Australian vocabulary as is, perhaps, the very widespread use of the adjective *bloody*. There are not many loans from Aboriginal languages and these are generally cultural terms (*boomerang*, *corroboree*, *waddy*) or flora and fauna (*jarrah*, *kookaburra*, *kangaroo*, *koala*, *mallee*) along with about one third of Australia’s place names (Dixon, Moore, Ramson & Thomas 2006 [8.1]).

An early study of vocabulary is available in *Austral English* (1898) by Edward E. Morris (1843–1902), enumerating over 2,000 words from Australian and New Zealand English of the time (see reference in 8.1). A useful online resource is the *Macquarie Dictionary* at [www.macquariedictionary.com.au](http://www.macquariedictionary.com.au) and the related *Australian Word Map* at [www.abc.net.au/wordmap](http://www.abc.net.au/wordmap).

**Australian languages** In Australia a large group of native languages, which had developed over thousands of years before the arrival of white settlers, were and still are spoken, albeit to a greatly diminished extent. The languages can be divided into two large groups: Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan. This term comes from the word for ‘man’ in two languages which are probably related but maximally removed from each other. The remaining languages are simply termed non-Pama-Nyungan and are typologically very diverse. Relationships are difficult to determine as no written records exist. The Pama-Nyungan languages are spoken in nine-tenths of Australia. Non-Pama-Nyungan languages are located in a small part of the Northern Territory.

At the start of the colonial period (late eighteenth century) there were probably more than 500 languages. According to the National Indigenous Languages Survey in 2005 only around 145 of the original 200–250 Australian languages remain today. Only five languages are spoken by more than 1,000 people, four of which are Pama-Nyungan. 19 languages have more than 500 speakers, 45 between 10 and 50 speakers, and 67 fewer than 10 speakers. Even the remaining robust languages are under threat, despite vigorous efforts being made to maintain them: estimates suggest that the number of surviving languages might decline by as much as 50 per cent, as the most critically endangered languages lose their last speakers in the next 20–30 years.

**Australian National Corpus** An umbrella corpus for a number of existing corpora of Australian English which have been collated and linked via a dedicated website. At present (2012) it consists of nine corpora including *ICE-Australia* (the Australian component of the *International Corpus of English*), the *Australian Corpus of English*, and *The Monash Corpus of Australian English*.

**Australian National Dictionary** A major lexicographical work with the subtitle ‘A Dictionary of Australianisms on Historical Principles’ compiled under the supervision of William S. Ramson and published in 1988 by Oxford University Press in Melbourne.

**Austronesian languages** A large family of languages encompassing all the languages of the Pacific (including Maori in New Zealand), the indigenous languages of Taiwan, those of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines and the languages of Madagascar in the eastern Indian Ocean. This family does not include the languages of Australia or the majority of those on New Guinea. There are several loanwords from Austronesian languages in English, for example *amok* (Malay), *batik*, *junk* (Javanese); *taboo*, *tattoo*, *ukelele* (Polynesian).

**Authorized Version of the Bible** A complete translation of the Bible for the Church of England which was made at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1604–1611) by a group of academics divided into committees from Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster, each translating a section. Because it was a commission by King James I (ruled 1603–1625) this Bible is referred to as the Authorized Version. Alternatively, it is called the King James Bible. Given its status in English society, it had an influence on the establishment of a formal register of written English.

**auxiliary, *done* as** A means of expressing perfective meaning which is common in the southern United States, for example *You done spent all your money* (Feagin 1979 [5.1.9]). This structure is also found in African American English (Labov 1998: 124–134 [1.2]). On its use in Gullah, see Mufwene (2001: 302 [1.2]). Here the classification of *done* as an auxiliary is motivated by its distribution: it is followed by a past participle just like auxiliary *have* in similar structures. The label ‘completive *done*’ is also found (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 87 [5.1]).

**auxiliary contraction** A feature of spoken language whereby the full forms of auxiliaries are reduced phonetically, for example [ɪf ædə noun]. Because of this it is often unclear what is intended: the form just given could be *If I would have known* or *If I had have known*, but such structures often do not occur in their full form anyway. The reduced *’ve* may be on the way to reanalysis as an invariant particle. Further evidence comes from [wʊdəv], originally a reduction of *would have*, which is increasingly written and even sometimes pronounced as *would of* [wʊd ɒv] as in *I never would of thought that might happen*. See Denison (1998: 140–142, 210–212 [1]), MacKenzie (2013 [1.6]).

**auxiliary verb** One of a small set of verbs which are used to form tenses by combining with lexical verbs. In English there are two of these, *have* and *be*, the latter now only used to express states, for example *The work is done*. Some conservative traditional dialects in England and Ireland have *be* as well as *have*, for example *I was left school at twelve year of age because my father was in bad health*.

**Avalon Peninsula** The south-east part of the island of NEWFOUNDLAND which contains the capital St John’s and the Southern Shore.



# B

**Babu English** A reference to an ornate and overly polite variety of English use by officials, clerks and generally educated persons in their dealings with the British during the Raj (period of colonialism in India). The term is derived from a Bengali word used as a title for a gentleman. *See* BUTLER ENGLISH.

**baby talk theory** The now outdated notion that PIDGINS originated from a deliberately simplified form of the colonial language analogous to that of infants.

**back formation** A word which is obtained by deleting something from, rather than adding something to, a base. Examples from English include verbs from nouns such as *to opt* from *option*, to *televise* from *television*. The verb *zomb (out)* ‘hang out completely tired’ in Singapore English is a back formation from *zombie*; in New Zealand English the verb *bach* means ‘to live as a bachelor’.

**back slang** A kind of slang in which the order of sounds and/or letters is reversed, for example *yob* ‘lout, hooligan’ from *boy* in nineteenth-century English. Back slang can be found in CANT and ARGOTS to render words opaque to outsiders.

**back vowel** Any vowel which is produced in the back of the mouth. These are, going from high to low, /u/, /o/, /ɔ/, /ɒ/ (rounded) and /ʊ/, /ʌ/, /ɑ/, (unrounded). The high unrounded vowels, /ɪ/, /e/, are rare but one of them may be present, for example in Japanese and Estonian.

**back-channelling** The use of signals sent to the interlocutor of a conversation to show that one is following what is being said. The signals can consist of interjections, *oh, hmm, aha*, or supportive items such as *sure, of course, I know, exactly*. Languages vary in the extent to which such back channelling is normal, and hence second language speakers may not always engage in back-channelling. In English it is expected and disconcerting if entirely absent.

**background language(s)** A reference to language(s) which may be the first language(s) of sections of a population and which have a structural effect on forms of English which arise in a region. Background languages need not be indigenous languages, for example Chinese and Tamil in Singapore were themselves transported there through migration in the last few centuries. The notion of background language is similar to that of substrate in pidgin and creole studies.

‘bad data’ See VARIETIES, DOCUMENTATION FOR.

**Bahamas, The** An independent state of the Caribbean, officially the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, which consists of an archipelago of about 700 larger islands and over 2,400 smaller islands and reefs, covering about 14,000 sq km, only a small minority of which are inhabited. The Bahamas extend for some 1,200 km south of the United States to the eastern end of Cuba. New Providence is the main island with over 70 per cent of the total population of over 300,000 and is where the capital Nassau is located. Another major island is Grand Bahama in the north of the archipelago. The first Europeans arrived at the islands in 1648 and from 1670 it was under the control of the British and became a colony in 1717, gaining independence in 1973. English is the official language although over 80 per cent of the population, which is overwhelmingly of African descent, speak Bahamian Creole, an English-based creole (Hackert 2004 [5.3.2.1]). For a description of non-vernacular Bahamian English see Bruckmaier & Hackert (2011 [5.3.2.1]). See also Holm (1980 [5.3.2.1]).

Bahamian Creole, spoken by the Afro-Bahamian population, is non-rhotic and has stop realizations of the THIN and THIS lexical sets. A number of mergers are attested, for example the PEN-PIN MERGER and the NEAR-SQUARE MERGER as well as variation in the realization of /v/ and /w/ (Childs & Wolfram 2008: 247 [5.3.2.1]; Trudgill, Schreier, Long and Williams 2002 [1.2.5]). Anglo-Bahamian often shows H-dropping, for example *harm* [arm], *hope* [oʊp], with H-insertion also found, for example *eggs* [hegz], *itch* [hɪtʃ], possibly due to hypercorrection, though this is not entirely certain (Childs & Wolfram 2008: 248–249 [5.3.2.1]).

**Bailey, Nathaniel (?–1742)** Author of a *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721) with some 40,000 entries and of the *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730). Bailey was very popular and Samuel JOHNSON drew on his dictionaries for the words he listed in his own *Dictionary of the English Language*.

**Bajan** A contraction of ‘Barbadian’ used to refer to vernacular English as spoken on BARBADOS in the south-eastern Caribbean.

**Bangladesh** An independent nation in South Asia enclosed on three sides by India. With Indian independence in 1947 the region was made part of Pakistan on the basis of the largely Muslim population. Before that date it was part of Bengal and under British control. After a military campaign the then East Pakistan successfully broke away from Pakistan (nearly 3,000 km to the west) and became independent in 1971. Bangladesh covers an area of 147,000 sq km and has a population of over 160 million. The official language is Bengali / Bangla, an Indo-Aryan language widely spoken in India as well, above all in West Bengal. English is represented as a common second language in education and public life in general although it lost its status as second official language in 1987.

**Bank of English** The name of a continually augmented corpus of English texts, totalling over 550 million words, which is maintained by the University of Birmingham in association with the publishers HarperCollins. The material in the corpus has been used for dictionaries based on primary data of contemporary English.

**Bantu languages** The major branch of the Niger-Congo family consisting of 300–500 languages. Its affiliation is contested; some authors subsume it under the Benue-Congo branch. The majority of the Bantu languages are tone languages (SWAHILI is an exception) and are AGGLUTINATIVE in type with complex noun classes. There are further subgroups of Bantu, such as Nguni languages, to which native languages such as Xhosa and Zulu in South Africa belong.

**Barbados** An island state of the south-east Caribbean with an area of 431 sq km and a population of just under 300,000 with about 80,000 living in the capital Bridgetown. The British began to settle Barbados in 1627, establishing a colony there, three years after they arrived at St Kitts and Nevis (though the Spanish and Portuguese had visited the island before). It became independent in 1966. In the beginning, during the HOMESTEAD PHASE, only regional speakers from Britain were on the island working on plantations mainly producing tobacco. With the switch to sugar cane in the 1640s the need for a larger labour force which could deal with the harsh conditions and climate became obvious and the British decided to import black slaves from West Africa, thus initiating the influx of an African population into the Caribbean. English is the official language of Barbados and is generally heteronymous to English English. The basilectal form of English is known as Bajan (< Barbadian). It is different from Caribbean creoles and indeed there is disagreement about whether it should better be classified as a dialect of English. English on the island is rhotic, an exception among Caribbean Englishes. This could be due to West Country English or Irish influence from the period of early settlement. It also shows a shift of dental fricatives to /f, v/, rather than solely to /t, d/ as elsewhere in the Caribbean, for example *birthday*, *path*; with /-f/ and *bathe* with /v/. In the verbal system *do* [da] indicates the progressive, for example *You do sleeping?* The form *does* marks the habitual: *He does catch fish*. In the past, *did* often replaces *was*: *They did eating*. *Dat did a good picture*. See Blake (2008 [5.3.2.3]).

**Barnes, William (1801–1886)** A poet from Dorset. Barnes was a schoolmaster and clergyman who produced much work in the dialect of his native county. He is known for his grammars of the Dorset dialect and for a glossary of the archaic dialect of Forth and Bargy in south-east Ireland. Barnes was much in favour of using native Germanic elements to create alternatives to classical compounds in English.

**Basic English** A core vocabulary for English which was devised by C(harles) K(ay) Ogden (1889–1957) in the 1920s. The aim was to produce a simplified form of English for non-native usage.

**basilect** A term used in creole studies to denote the variety on a continuum which is furthest away from more standard varieties of a language spoken in a region or country. For instance, in Jamaica the basilect is represented by Jamaican Creole which is least like standard forms of English spoken there.

**basilect, mesolect, acrolect** Terms from creole studies to refer to the varieties furthest away from, in the middle and nearest to the standard of the lexifier language respectively, for example as applied to varieties of English in Jamaica.

**BATH lexical set** A reference to the set of words which show early modern /a/ before a voiceless fricative. In the south of England the vowel was lengthened in this context, but in the north this did not take place and to this day short /a/ in this lexical set is a salient characteristic of NORTHERN ENGLISH. See /æ/ BEFORE VOICELESS FRICATIVES.

**Bay Islands Creole** An English-lexifier creole spoken on the three main islands of Islas de la Bahia (Bay Islands) off the north coast of Honduras (Graham 2005 [5.3.3.2]).

**Bazaar Malay** A pidgin and later creole which arose from a mixture of Malay and Chinese previously used for trade purposes spoken in the region of present-day Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia.

**BBC English** A popular reference to the accent known to linguists as RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION. The reference arose because the institution referred to used only employ people with this accent of English.

**Belfast English** Belfast is the capital of Northern Ireland and lies at the estuary of the river Lagan in the north-east. It was founded in the seventeenth century and expanded greatly with the industrial development of such areas as ship-building in the nineteenth century. Linguistically, it is an amalgam of Ulster Scots and Mid-Ulster English inputs along with independent developments of its own, especially in the nineteenth century (J. Milroy 1981 [3.3.1]). It is largely Protestant though certain parts, like west Belfast, have Catholic majorities. It is known to the linguistic community as the location for the social network investigations carried out by James and Lesley Milroy in the 1970s. See L. Milroy (1987 [1.1.3]) and Henry (1995 [3.3.1]). For a discussion of features, see Hickey (2007b, section 5.5.1 [3.3]), IRISH ENGLISH, NORTHERN ENGLISH and ULSTER.

**Belize** A country on the Caribbean rim in the south-east of Yucatan peninsula, bordering with Mexico. About 23,000 sq km in size, it has a population of about 350,000 with about a fifth of that in the capital Belize City. The region was first settled in the seventeenth century by shipwrecked English sailors and soldiers. In 1862 the colony of British Honduras was formally established. The name was changed to Belize in 1973 and the country became independent in 1981. The official language is English, but Spanish is spoken by between a third and a half of the population. English-lexifier Belize Creole (Kriol) is widely spoken and exists in an urban form in the capital. It is closely related to MISKITO COAST Creole. Native American (Mayan) languages are also spoken by small numbers.

**Berliner Lautarchiv** The ‘Berliner Sound Archive’ is a collection of early audio recordings, most from the beginning of the twentieth century, which document many languages and dialects spoken at that time. The recordings come from the Royal Prussian Phonographic Commission which had a project *Voices of the Peoples*. For this it recorded prisoners of war from World War I many of whom were speakers of English dialects. See DOEGEN, WILHELM ALBERT.

**Bermuda** An island nation in the mid-west Atlantic about 1,000 km off the coast of North Carolina, officially called The Bermudas or Somers Isles. It was discovered by the Spanish in 1505 and called after the explorer Juan de Bermúdez. The island was settled by members of the Virginia Company which was responsible for the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. The island has an area of 53.2 sq km and a population of about 65,000 with the town Hamilton its capital. It became a British colony in 1707 and is still a British Overseas Territory with English the official language. Given the proximity to the United States there has also been influence from American English.

**Bhojpuri** An Indo-Aryan language closely related to Hindi and spoken in northern India in the west of Bihar and in parts of other states such as Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh. Speakers of Bhojpuri were transported in the nineteenth century as indentured labourers to South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji, British and Dutch Guyana (now Guyana and Suriname respectively) as well as to Trinidad and Tobago.

**Bhutan** A small state in the eastern Himalayas bordered on three sides by India and to the north by China with a population of under a million. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Bhutan was under the influence of the British East India Company and later the government of Britain. A large number of Tibetan languages are spoken in Bhutan the chief of which is Dzongkha, the national language.

**bias factor** A factor in potential or actual language change which favours the change in a particular direction. For instance, there is a tendency for [u:] to move forward in the mouth because there is less articulatory effect involved in changing the tongue configuration to that of a high back vowel and also rounding the lips in a manner typical for this vowel. This bias explains why there is fronting of the GOOSE vowel, to [u:], [u:], or even [y:], but not a movement in the opposite direction, that is from front to back.

**Bible translations** Translations of the Bible often have the effect of standardizing a language or indeed of establishing an accepted written form in the first place. Throughout the history of English, translations of the Bible, or parts of it, have been made. The four gospels were translated into the West Saxon dialect in the Old English period. In the fourteenth century John Wycliffe and his associates produced an influential translation into the East Midland dialect of Middle English. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries other translations appeared, for example by William Tyndale (c.1494–1536), Miles Coverdale (?1488–1569) and the *Matthew Bible*, a composite work and the first complete version of the Bible printed in England (1537). The *Geneva Bible* (1560) derives its name from the fact that it was printed in Switzerland. It was compiled by Protestant exiles living abroad during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary. The *Douai-Rheims Bible* (1609–1610) is again called after the towns in Europe where it was printed (in two stages, one in each town). This time it was prepared by Catholic emigrant priests using the Latin Vulgate after the Protestant restoration in England under James I. The *King James Bible* (1611), also called the *AUTHORIZED VERSION*, is the main translation of the early modern period. The translation was produced after a commission was issued by James I and is the work of several scholars. The language, though conservative, is regarded as particularly successful in style. It influenced subsequent written English as did *The Book of Common Prayer* produced in 1549 by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (revised on various occasions, for example in 1662).

**Bickerton, Derek (1926–)** An American linguist known for his views on how children ‘create’ language in a creole situation. Bickerton believes that there is an innate *bioprogram* which comes to the fore in situations of uncontrolled first language acquisition with little background linguistic input as happened on plantations during the colonial period. This bioprogram would contain structural information involving semantic primitives, for instance those which are expressed by tense (anterior : non-anterior), aspect (punctual : non-punctual) and mood (realis : irrealis). Such distinctions have often been observed among the world’s creoles. See Bickerton (1975 [9]).

**bidialectalism** A situation in which a speaker is able to converse in two dialects, to switch at ease between both and keep them apart. *See* BILINGUALISM.

**bilabial** Any sound produced using both lips, for example [p, b, m].

**BILE-BOIL distinction** A distinction made in standard varieties of English which rests on the difference between the /ai/ and /ɔi/ diphthongs. In the early modern period this distinction appears not to have held for some varieties of southern English. However, those which had the distinction asserted themselves and the distinction became established in supraregional varieties in England by the nineteenth century, though the open pronunciation of BOIL is still common in traditional West Country speech (Wells 1982: 347) and in vernacular varieties in Ireland and Newfoundland.

**bilingualism** (1) The ability to speak two languages with native-like competence. In individual cases one language will be dominant. The term is often used if someone can simply speak a second language well and there is much debate on the degree of competence required in two languages for an individual to be classified as bilingual. There are other factors involved such as whether two languages are acquired simultaneously in early childhood or whether the second language is acquired at a later stage, often in adulthood due to such factors as emigration or marriage to a spouse with a different native language. (2) The term is also applied to societies and/or countries (Romaine 1991 [8.1]). Well-known examples of bilingual countries in the anglophone world are CANADA and SOUTH AFRICA. There are differences here, however, as the English and Afrikaans communities in the latter country tend to show greater awareness and knowledge of the respective opposite language (South Africa is in fact multilingual, now recognizing 11 different official languages). In addition, the communities are interwoven in South Africa whereas in Canada there is a much stricter geographical separation of English and French.

**binary feature** A feature which can only adopt one of two values. It is common to classify phonetic sounds this way, for instance a sound in a language (a phoneme) is either [+nasal] or [–nasal], that is there are no half-nasals, though there may be degrees of phonetic nasalization.

**binomials** A pair of nouns (or sometimes elements of other word classes) which are used functionally as a unit in set phrases like *raining cats and dogs* ‘raining very heavily’, *as different as chalk and cheese* ‘completely different’, *the long and the short of it* ‘the entire story’.

**biogram program hypothesis** *See* BICKERTON, DEREK.

**Bioko** (formerly called Fernando Po) An island off the coast of Cameroon and part of Equatorial Guinea (formerly Spanish Guinea) as opposed to the other two large islands to its south-west, São Tomé and Príncipe, which form an independent country with a Portuguese colonial background (a further island, Annabón, in a line with the first three lies to the extreme south-west and is part of Equatorial Guinea). Bioko has an area of just over 2,000 sq km and a population of approximately 125,000. The island was originally claimed by the Portuguese but was ceded to Spain in 1778. During the nineteenth century speakers of Krio from Sierra Leone were taken as labourers to Bioko and this input resulted in (English-lexifier) Fernando Po Creole, known by its speakers as Pichi or Pichinglis, which has interacted with Spanish, the colonial language of Equatorial Guinea. See Lipski (1992 [6.1.7]) and Yapko (2009 [6.1.7]).

**Bislama** A creole of the south-west Pacific which arose out of Melanesian Pidgin English in the nineteenth century. It is spoken on VANUATU, the former New Hebrides, where it is an official language. See Crowley (2008a, 2008b [8.3.3]).

**Black English (Vernacular)** *See* AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH.

**Black Irish** A term used to describe the Irish who were deported to Barbados as a result of Oliver Cromwell's military campaigns in Ireland. The term 'black' can refer either to the fact that the Irish immigrants were of the same low social status as the Africans or to the offspring of intermarriage between the Irish and African women or to both.

**Black Nova Scotians** A small ethnic group (about 20,000 at present) who are the descendents of African slaves or freemen who left the United States to settle in Nova Scotia, Canada in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Nova Scotia was then an independent province, only joining the Confederation of Canada in 1867. The Black Nova Scotians live in centres such as Guysborough and Preston along with the capital Halifax and constitute an African American DIASPORA. See Poplack & Tagliamonte (1991 [5.1.10.4.]).

**Black South African English** Since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s and the establishment of black majority government in 1994 English has expanded greatly among the black population of South Africa. The varieties which have arisen show a considerable influence of the native background languages of speakers, chiefly XHOSA and ZULU (NGUNI LANGUAGES), the two main representatives of a number of Southern Bantu languages which also include three large SOTHO LANGUAGES (Tswana, Northern Sotho and Southern Sotho). Typical features of Bantu languages emerge in Black South African English, for example syllable-timing, lack of systemic vowel length distinctions, lack of diphthongs in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets, non-rhoticity and TH-stopping. With the increased status of the blacks, these varieties may become more focussed and serve as linguistic identification for the aspiring black section of the South African population. Certainly varieties of Black South African English are more present in public life in contemporary South Africa, something which has prompted research into RESTANDARDIZATION and more recently into structural convergence among varieties of English in South Africa. See de Klerk (2003a), Gough (1996), Van Rooy (2008), Van Rooy and Van Huyssteen (2000), Wissing (2002), Wright (1996) and further references in 6.3.1.3.



**blade** That section of the tongue which is just behind the tip (apex). English /s/ is produced using the blade but in Dutch, Spanish, Greek and Finnish, for example, it is the tip which is used as active articulator. The adjective from blade is ‘laminal’.

**Blarney** An impressionistic term for flattering, cloying speech which is supposed to be typical of the Irish. The term is known in this sense since the time of Elizabeth I who is reputed to have used the term in this sense. It derives from a stone on the top side of Blarney Castle near Cork city which is supposed to give the person who kisses it ‘the gift of the gab’ (< Irish *gab* ‘mouth’).

**blend** A word created by combining two others, for example *smog* from *smoke* and *fog* or *brunch* from *breakfast* and *lunch*. Usually the syllable onset comes from the first word and the syllable rhyme (nucleus + coda) is taken from the second.

**blog** A blend of *web* and *log* and used to refer to a site dedicated to discussions of a particular topic or run by a particular group. Such sites have supervisors, frequently individuals, who control the content and who allow users to post their comments or queries. Users can often communicate with each other via the blog and can thus partake in a virtual social network (*see* NETWORK, SOCIAL). On a large scale such platforms are called social networking services and may have millions of users, for example Twitter or Facebook, forming an online community. *See* CHAT, ONLINE.

**Bonin Islands** *See* OGASAWARA ISLANDS.

**Boontling** A reference to the conservative variety of English spoken in the locality of Boonville in the Anderson valley of northern California. Its specific lexical elements show the influence of Scottish Gaelic, Irish, Spanish and local native American languages.

**Borders, Scottish** An area of southern Scotland close to the border with England. There is a relatively sharp transition between southern Scotland and northern England with little spread of features from the north into Scotland and vice versa.

**borrow** The process of taking a word or phrase from one language and using it in another. This can occur with individuals or with an entire community. When these words become established over time one speaks of loanwords. Borrowing may also involve syntactic, morphological or phonological elements. The latter types of borrowing usually require that some section of the population be in direct contact with the second language. Lexical borrowing can be due to the influence of the written word as with the English loanwords in so many present-day languages, yielding ‘cultural borrowings’. The term ‘borrowing’ is a misnomer as nothing is taken from the donor language. For that reason linguists often speak of ‘code-copying’ instead. *See* VOCABULARY, BORROWING OF.

**Boston Brahmin accent** A reputedly separate accent of English typical of the Boston establishment including Harvard University. A prominent feature of the accent is its non-rhoticity.

**Boston English** A collective reference to the varieties of English spoken in the city of Boston and the surrounding areas of Massachusetts which dialectally are part of eastern New England. Traditionally, English in this area is non-rhotic, though non-vernacular accents based



on supraregional American English are rhotic, and also have both linking /r/ (/r/, LINKING) and intrusive /r/ (/r/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE). Boston English generally has the COT-CAUGHT merger. The HORSE-HOARSE distinction is traditionally made here as is that for the triad MARRY-MERRY-MARY. There is also less GOOSE and GOAT fronting than in other American accents. See Laferrière (1986 [5.1.3]) for an investigation of linguistic differences between Italian, Jewish and Irish heritage groups in Boston.

**Botswana** A land-locked country in Southern Africa to the east of Namibia and north of South Africa. In the colonial period it was known as Bechuanaland and assumed its present name with independence from Britain in 1966. It has an area of 582,000 sq km and a population of just over two million with about 200,000 living in the capital Gaborone. Tswana is the first language of the great majority with some English and Khoisan language speakers. English has the status of an official language.

**bound** In a general sense any form which cannot occur on its own. Both lexical and grammatical morphemes may be bound, but the number of the former is very limited, for example the first part of *raspberry* in English which does not occur independently.

**Bowdler, Thomas (1754–1825)** English editor. Born near Bath, Bowdler attained notoriety for his attempts to purge Shakespeare's works (1818) of what he regarded as unsavoury language and references – he did this in an edition of the Bible (1822) as well. His declared intention was to rid Shakespeare of words and expressions 'which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family'. This prudish attitude led to the verb *to bowdlerize* 'to purge of ostensibly offensive material'.

**bracket** An orthographic device for enclosing linguistic elements or for indicating boundaries and internal hierarchical structure. Square brackets [] are used in phonetics, slashes // are found in phonology and curly brackets {} in morphology. Square brackets are sometimes used in syntax, but tree diagrams are more common because they are visually more effective.

**breaking** An impressionistic term for DIPHTHONGIZATION, the implication being that a long vowel is 'broken' into a nucleus and an off-glide, for example *face* [fiəs] in Jamaican Creole.

**breathy voice** A particular kind of phonation in which the vocal folds vibrate for a section of their length and remain slightly open for the rest. This creates a breathy impression as if one were sighing. In Indo-Aryan languages sounds with this phonation are found and written as a voiced sound with a following *h*, that is *bh*, *dh*, *gh* and are considered to be very archaic or going back to the Indo-European parent language.

**Bristol** A major port in south-west England on the Severn estuary. Because of its position with easy access to the Atlantic, Bristol was an important city during the colonial period, servicing ships sailing to and returning from the colonies and also for trade and contact with Ireland, to its immediate west. Linguistically, Bristol is known for intrusive /l/, the use of an unetymological /l/ at the end of a syllable, frequently of a word, as seen in the name of the city itself which derives from an earlier *Bristow* (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 215 [2.7]).

**Britain** The island of Britain, consisting of England, Wales and Scotland. It is the largest island of The British Isles (a geographic designation). Rather than use the latter term reference is sometimes made to Britain and Ireland as the two main islands of this group.

**British Black English** A term for the varieties of English spoken by the black population of England. It usually refers to the type of English used by the descendants of Jamaicans who came to England in the 1950s and 1960s and who mainly settled in the London area. It is a continuum of varieties with the most basilectal form showing typical features of Caribbean creoles such as syllable-timing, TH-stopping, a reduced vowel system lacking systemic length distinctions, retention of *unu* as a second person plural pronoun and post-velar pre-ASH palatalization, for example *gyal* for *girl*. The term ‘British Creole’ is also common in the literature, see Patrick (2008 [2.5]) and Sebba (2008 [2.5]).

**British Empire** The colonial enterprise, which began in the Atlantic in the early seventeenth century, involved England taking colonies in the Caribbean and on the east coast of the United States. Britain also had stations along the West African coast which it then used in the slave trade. British expansion in Asia was largely orchestrated by the EAST INDIA COMPANY which ruled over the entire East Indies (South and South-East Asia) for more than two centuries. The notion of ‘Empire’ is essentially Victorian: in the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century the colonies were viewed as a source of cheap raw materials and possibly as an outlet for emigrants wishing to leave England or for deportees. The geographical extent of England’s overseas possessions was greatest in the late nineteenth century and India was seen as the jewel in the crown of the British Empire. The empire rapidly disintegrated in the twentieth century, especially following the independence of India in 1947. Nearly all larger overseas possessions followed suit from the 1950s to the 1980s, for example the countries under British control in Africa and Asia. The cultural ties with Britain were continued after independence for many countries within the framework of the British Commonwealth, officially the Commonwealth of Nations, the 54 members of which are all former British colonies (bar two: Mozambique and Rwanda). There are now only 14 British OVERSEAS TERRITORIES as a legacy of the British Empire.

**British English** A commonly found term for English in England and often used indiscriminately for English spoken throughout the island of Britain. The difficulty is that there is no common variety of English across England, Wales and Scotland, especially because the latter shows varieties, along the continuum of Scottish Standard English to Scots, which are very different from forms to the south in England. The term ‘British English’ is often used in contrast to American English. In this sense the reference is to non-vernacular, relatively ‘standard’ varieties in southern England, especially in their written form. See ENGLISH ENGLISH, IRISH ENGLISH, SCOTS, SCOTTISH STANDARD ENGLISH, WELSH ENGLISH.

**British Isles** A geographical term used to refer to the two main islands of Britain and Ireland along with smaller ones such as the Isle of Man, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, etc.

**British National Corpus** A corpus of written and spoken texts covering a wide range of registers and comprising 100 million words (about 90 per cent from written sources). It was assembled between 1991 and 1994 and is currently housed at the University of Oxford. The latest edition is the *BNC XML Edition* released in 2007. It can be accessed, with a licence,

through a dedicated server; sample searches can be done without registration. An interface to the BNC with sophisticated search options is also provided by Brigham Young University.

**British Sign Language** A sign language with considerable historical roots in Britain, going back to the sixteenth century. In 1760 the Scotsman Thomas Braidwood (1715–1806) founded Braidwood’s Academy for the Deaf and Dumb in Edinburgh. His ‘combined system’ was a precursor of British Sign Language. In 1792 Joseph Watson, a pupil of Braidwood, founded the London Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb where sign language was used and further developed. Until well into the twentieth century schools preferred deaf and mute children to learn to lip and finger read but gradually a greater acceptance of sign language spread and it is now on the syllabus of many schools.

**broad transcription** A manner of phonetic transcription in which detail, not relevant to the discussion at hand, is not presented. For instance, when discussing the sounds of a variety, the quality of *r*-sounds might not be the focus and so these could be transcribed as [r] although in narrow transcription this refers only to a trilled *r*.

**brogue** A term stemming from an Irish word, either that for ‘shoe’, *bróg*, or for ‘a knot in the tongue’, *barróg teangan* (the Southern Irish pronunciation of *barróg* would be [bro:g] with syncope of the first syllable and so match the English word phonetically). Its actual origin cannot be ascertained anymore. The label was already known to Shakespeare and has been used in the past four centuries for any strongly local accent of Irish English. The term is also used outside Ireland as in ‘Ocracoke Brogue’ to refer to the local accent of offshore islands in North Carolina (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997 [5.1.7]).

**broken English** A general term to refer to basilectal forms of English in countries without historically continuous forms of the language, for example in India or Malaysia. The term is not a linguistic one, but enjoys wide currency in everyday speech.

**Brown Corpus** One of the first computer corpora so-called because it was produced at Brown University, Rhode Island. The work was compiled by Henry Kucera and W. Francis Nelson in the early 1960s with a total of about one million words in 500 sample texts of different types. The full name is the *Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English*. See also FREIBURG CORPORA.

**Brummie** A popular name for the city dialect of Birmingham, England, located in the West Midlands (MIDLANDS, WEST). See Chinn and Thorne (2001 [2.8]).

**Buchanan, James** An eighteenth-century Scottish author concerned with the development of a single pronunciation of English, cf. the title of his major publication *An Essay Towards Establishing a Standard for an Elegant and Uniform Pronunciation of the English Language Through the British Dominions* (1766).

**Bungi** A dialect of the Canadian prairies which developed along the fur trade routes south of Hudson Bay. It arose from the intermarriage of workers of the Hudson Bay Company (mostly with a Scottish background) with local Cree women and peaked in the late nineteenth century. Among its prominent features were no distinction between masculine and feminine

among third person pronouns, the generalization of *be* as an auxiliary, the use of a pronoun together with a noun, for example *I'm just slocked it the light*, and the interchange of [s] and [ʃ]. See Gold (2009 [5.2.9]).

**Burgher** A label referring to people in Sri Lanka who have at least one parent of European stock.

**burr** An impressionistic term for a uvular *r* [ʀ] (rolled) or [ʁ] (not rolled). It is common as a term when referring to the sound in Northumbrian forms of English. Also found in North-East Leinster, Ireland (Hickey 2004a [3.3]). A uvular *r* is general in standard forms of French and German and in some other languages of the European mainland such as Dutch and Danish as well as in southern Sweden. The label 'burr' is sometimes used for any non-prevocalic (and non-uvular) /r/, for example in the context of South-West English.

**busy** A Germanic word, attested only in English and Dutch, which has expanded its semantic range in South Africa to include contexts where it is not found elsewhere, for example *I'm busy worrying about the children*.

**but in the sense of only** An older usage in English as in *He wasn't getting but five shillings a day*, which may survive in traditional dialects.

**Butler English** A variety of colonial English in India which stems putatively from the language used by Indian domestic servants when communicating with their British masters. It is claimed that it survived independence and continued in cities in the latter half of the twentieth century. It has distinctive features in pronunciation and grammar, for example the overuse of progressive verb forms in *-ing* and the use of *done* as an auxiliary to form the perfect. Also called Kitchen English. See Hosali (2008 [7.1.1]) and BABU ENGLISH.

## C

**Cabot, John / Giovanni Cabote (c.1450–1499)** An Italian-English explorer who is thought to have been the first modern European to (re)discover Newfoundland, though the evidence for this is not firm.

**cafeteria principle** A reference to the opinion that pidgins arose by combining various features and rules from a set of regional varieties from the British Isles which were represented in the English to which non-English speakers, typically slaves in the New World, were exposed. See Dillard (ed., 1980 [5.1]).

**Cajun English** The varieties of English spoken by descendants of Canadian French immigrants from ACADIA (approximately present-day New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) in southern Louisiana. A section of the ethnic Cajuns also speak a specific variety of French, albeit restricted to the domestic and familiar domains. This is derived from Acadian French and has had a formative influence on Cajun English. For instance, there is not always a distinction in vowel length in words like *fill* and *feel* and there is a general tendency towards endstress in multi-syllable words, voiceless stops are not always aspirated, and TH-STOPPING as well as vowel nasalization occurs. Cajun English has also incorporated elements of English varieties spoken in the same area, for example ASK-METATHESIS, TH-FRONTING and the monophthongization of /ai/. See Dubois and Horvath (1998a, 1998b, 2008 [5.1.12]).

**California Vowel Shift** A series of vowel shifts which are typical of young speakers, especially females in California, apparently more in the north of the state. In this shift short front vowels are lowered, for example DRESS [dræs], KIT [ket] (but not before [ŋ]), TRAP [trap] with raising of the ASH-vowel when in pre-nasal position (a supraregional feature of many varieties of American English), for example *and* [ɛnd]. In addition there is fronting of high back vowels in the GOOSE and GOAT lexical sets as well as the STRUT vowel while the PRICE diphthong shows a centralized onset much like in Canadian English. The COT-CAUGHT MERGER

is often thought to have triggered front vowel lowering by exercising a drag on the TRAP vowel with DRESS and KIT following. The same reasoning has been advanced for the CANADIAN SHIFT. See Kennedy & Grama (2012 [5.1.5.2]).

**calques** A loan translation which is achieved by translating the recognizable sections of a compound piece by piece, for example Bahamian Creole *big-eye* ‘greedy’ (a calque on an original African language structure).

**Cameroon** A central African state with an area of 475,000 sq km and a population of approximately 20 million about 1.5 million of whom live in the capital Yaoundé. The country became independent in 1960 when French Cameroon and the southern part of British Cameroon united (the northern part joined Nigeria). Cameroon has had an English, French and German (1884–1919) colonial background. After World War I the country was divided between the British and the French. As a legacy of this situation English and French are official languages. Pidgins forms of English, known as KAMTOK, are spoken by as much as a quarter of the population all of whom have Bantu background languages.

**Canada** In 1497 John Cabot landed in Newfoundland and so began the settlement of Canada by Europeans. Before this only native groups peopled the country. Some of their languages are still extant in small ethnic groups within present-day Canada, though almost all are at the verge of extinction, their position being similar to that of Native Americans in the United States. A special position is occupied by the Inuit in the arctic regions of northern Canada and since 1999 they have their own territory of NUNAVUT, lit. ‘our land’, within the Canadian Confederation.

In 1534–1535 Jacques Cartier captured the areas of the St. Lawrence river for the French and in 1608 Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec. Until 1674 the administration of the French colony was a matter of a colonial company. After this the French crown took over the government of French Canada. In 1774 the Quebec Act established the province of Quebec officially. The Americans attempted unsuccessfully in 1775 to take over Quebec and many loyalist Americans came to Canada after the American War of Independence (1783) and settled in areas such as New Brunswick and Nova Scotia along with Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) and Lower Canada (present-day Quebec). Various centres of population developed in Canada. The Constitutional Act of 1791 acknowledged this and created two halves: Upper Canada (mainly British) and Lower Canada (mainly French). The Americans tried once again in 1812–1814 to conquer Canada (unsuccessfully). The necessity to form a unity to oppose America led to the unification of Lower and Upper Canada with the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) as the Dominion of Canada in 1867 (Newfoundland did not join until 1949). Later, other provinces were added from the land formerly granted to the Hudson Bay Company (Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan). British Columbia joined in 1871. Canada remained a British colony (subject formally to the British crown) until the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1920 Britain recognized the right of Canada to sign international treaties on its own. At the Empire Conference in 1926 and later with the Statute of Westminster (1931) Canada attained, along with other dominions, formal independence from Britain but remained a member of the Commonwealth. The name *Canada* is of uncertain origin (Dollinger, ed., 2011 [5.2], s.v. ‘Canada’).

Canada, the second largest country in the world, has an area of just under 10 million sq km and a population of approximately 35 million. The capital is Ottawa on the border of Ontario

with Québec with a population of over 1 million; Toronto, with over 5 million in its metropolitan area, is the largest city. The country consists of 10 provinces and three territories. Of these Ontario with 13 million is the most populous followed by Quebec with over 8 million. The latter province is French-speaking as opposed to the remaining provinces. English and French are official languages along with a number of recognized regional languages. Most Canadians are the descendants of English/Scottish/Irish immigrants (45 per cent) or of French immigrants (29 per cent). However, other ethnic groups are also represented such as Ukrainians (2.7 per cent), Italians (3.4 per cent), Germans (6.1 per cent), Dutch (2 per cent) and Poles (1.5 per cent) along with more recent immigrants in western Canada from Pacific rim countries, such as China, Japan, Korea.

Canadian English can be said to occupy an approximate position between American and British English. This can be explained historically, given that Canada was under the influence of Britain for very much longer. Language attitudes play a role here as Canadians do not wish to be mistaken for Americans. Nonetheless in pronunciation, Canadian English is far closer to American English and does not stand comparison with South African or New Zealand English vis-à-vis English English.

In the study of Canadian English the concept of homogeneity has played a central role. Standard Canadian English is defined as urban, middle class, anglophone and it is used by speakers of a second generation or later (those born in the country, Chambers 1998 [5.2]). Linguistic variation removed from this widely accepted standard includes traditional dialect enclaves, such as Newfoundland, and perhaps still the Ottawa Valley with its Irish input as well as rural areas, which are generally understudied. Ethnic variation has so far, with the exception of close-knit Jewish and Italian networks in Montreal, not been systematically studied, but see Hoffman and Walker (2010 [5.2]).

*Phonology* A well-researched feature of Canadian English is CANADIAN RAISING by which is meant that the diphthongs /ai, au/ are pronounced as [ɹɪ, ɹʊ] before voiceless consonants and as [aɪ, aʊ] before voiced ones, for example *knife* [naɪf] : *knives* [naɪvz]; *house* [haʊs] : *houses* [haʊzɪz]. Canada is also known for its generalization of the LOT-THOUGHT MERGER due to a lack of vowel length differences with /ɔ ~ ɒ/, for example *Don* /dɒn/ and *dawn* /dɒn/. However, present-day scholarship sees the centralization and lowering of short front vowels as the main pan-Canadian feature, see CANADIAN SHIFT, and this is regarded by Canadian linguists as the most salient feature of English in contemporary Canada (Boberg 2010: 146–157 [5.2]).

*Lexis* Canadian English contains some elements from native languages such as *kayak* ‘canoe of Inuit’; *parka* ‘skin jacket with hood attached’. It also has lexical preferences over American English, some of which are, however, receding, for example *chesterfield* for *sofa* (Chambers 2004 [5.2]). The much quoted interjection *eh?* is supposed to be a shibboleth for Canadians but tends to be avoided because of its all-too-obvious character. A recent assessment of Canadian lexis, containing a comparison with American lexis, can be found in Dollinger & von Schneidmesser (2011 [5.2]).

**Canadian Raising** A phonetic feature of most forms of Canadian English whereby the onset of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ is raised somewhat before voiceless consonants, for example *like* [laɪk] and *doubt* [daʊt] (Boberg 2008: 153–154 [5.2]). This may lead to a vowel contrast with pairs of words such as *house* [haʊs] and *houses* [haʊzɪz]. The term was coined by the Canadian sociolinguist J. K. Chambers, see Chambers (1973 [5.2]).

**Canadian Shift** A shift of front short vowels, apparently triggered by the retraction of the vowel in the TRAP lexical set from [æ] to [a]. The remaining vowels, in the KIT and DRESS

lexical sets, are lowered and perhaps centralized in the process. The shift was first described in Clarke, Elms and Youssef (1995 [5.2]) and later in somewhat more detail by Boberg (2005 [5.2.5], 2010 [5.2]).

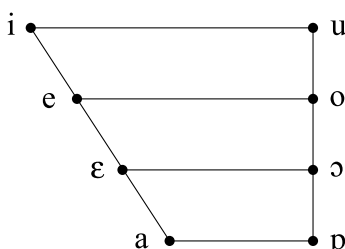
**cant** Language specific to a certain group in society, usually one with low status, cf. thieves' cant. The word is probably from an earlier usage with the meaning 'crying, whining' (as of beggars) though the Irish word *caint* 'talk' has also been suggested. See ARGOT.

**Cape Breton** An area in eastern Canada, in the north of Nova Scotia, where there are still remnants of Scottish Gaelic taken there in the nineteenth century by immigrants from Scotland.

**Cape Flats English** A reference to English as spoken by the largely COLOURED population of the Cape Flats (on the edge of Cape Town, South Africa), a large sandy expanse between the table mountain and central Cape Town to the west and the mainland hills to the east. The origins of Cape Flats English lies in the working-class neighbourhoods of inner-city Cape Town (Finn 2008: 200 [6.3.1.4], Malan 1996 [6.3.1.4]) whose speakers used Afrikaans and English. During the Apartheid Era the government undertook a clearing of many inner-city areas, most notably that of District Six (McKormick 2008 [6.3.1.4]), resettling people in the Cape Flats area where English vernaculars came to predominate. The area also contains speakers of various Bantu languages, many of them relatively recent in-migrants to the city.

**capitalization** The use of capital letters in certain contexts. The most common is for the first letter in a sentence and for proper names, for example a person, place or brand name as in *Walter, Chicago, Nevada, Cadillac* or for titles like Car of the Year. Sometimes capitals are used for emphasis (as are *italics* and **bold letters**) or to suggest that one is referring to a prime example of something, for example *This will be the Game of the Century*. Up to the early nineteenth century all nouns in English (common and proper) were frequently written with capitals, a practice which is categorical in German and which was in Danish up until the spelling reform of 1948.

**cardinal vowels** A system of eight rounded and eight unrounded vowels which was originally developed by the English phonetician Daniel Jones and which is intended as a system of reference for the unambiguous classification of vowel values in a language. The cardinal vowels are represented in a quadrangle with vowels at each corner and two closed mid and two open mid vowels, a pair in the front and a pair in the back of the quadrangle (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1** Vowel quadrangle showing eight cardinal vowels (four front unrounded and four back rounded).



**caretaker speech** A reference to a distinct register used by adults when speaking to very young children. The simplified language supposedly facilitates language acquisition though this is contested by scholars in the field. Also called ‘child-directed speech’ or ‘motherese’.

**Caribbean** The large sea and its islands between the southern coast of the United States and the northern coast of South America. It is bounded on the west by Mexico and the Central American states and is open to the east. The section between the east of Mexico and the south of the United States is the Gulf of Mexico and does not contain many islands. The Caribbean islands begin in the north with Cuba and the Bahamas and extend southwards to South America. The islands are divided into two groups, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, *see* ANTILLES. All the five major maritime powers of the colonial period – Spain, Portugal,

**Table 2** Anglophone locations in the Caribbean.

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*Greater Antilles*

Jamaica  
Dominican Republic (SAMANÁ PENINSULA)

*Lesser Antilles*

Barbados  
Trinidad and Tobago

*The Leeward Islands*

Anguilla  
Antigua and Barbuda  
St Kitts and Nevis  
Montserrat  
Virgin Islands (British & American)

*The Windward Islands*

Dominica  
Grenada  
St Lucia  
St Vincent and the Grenadines

*Other islands*

Cayman Islands (south of Cuba)  
The Bahamas (north of Cuba)  
Turks and Caicos (north-east of Cuba)

*Caribbean Rim*

Southern coast of the United States  
Belize (former British Honduras; Belize Creole)  
Honduras (Bay Islands Creole)  
Costa Rica (Limonese Creole)  
Nicaragua (Miskito Coast Creole)  
Panama (Colón Creole)  
San Andrés y Providencia (northern Central America Creole)  
Suriname (former Dutch Guyana; Sranan, Saramaccan)  
Guyana (former British Guyana; Guyanese)

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England, France and Holland (The Netherlands) – were involved in the Caribbean, a fact which is evident in the linguistic legacies of the area. English is present in the Lesser Antilles in the Eastern Caribbean and in Jamaica which England wrested from Spain in the mid seventeenth century. In the Bahamas (in the north-east) and at various locations on the Caribbean rim English is also present, for example in Suriname (in the English-lexifier creoles Sranan and Saramaccan), in Belize and on the Miskito Coast of Nicaragua. There was a fair degree of inter-island movement among the British colonies in the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, especially for males (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 46 [9]) – a fact which led to the dissemination of varieties from islands settled early such as Barbados (see Table 2).

**Caribbean, division into East and West** The anglophone Caribbean was settled in the east in the early seventeenth century. English spread out from the island of Barbados (in the east) with speakers moving to other islands, first to smaller islands and later to Jamaica and other locations in the west. There are certain features in the Eastern Caribbean which derive from earlier forms of English and which may differ from those in the Western Caribbean (see Table 3).

**Table 3** Features of Western and Eastern Caribbean Englishes.

<i>Western</i>	<i>Eastern</i>
On-glides are present: <i>face</i> [fies], <i>boat</i> [buot]	Off-glides of mid long vowels are common: <i>face</i> [feəs], <i>boat</i> [boət]
[ɒ:] and [a:] both merge as [a:], for example <i>jaw</i> and <i>jar</i> are homophonous	Distinction between [ɒ:] and [a:] is maintained
<i>Does</i> ( <i>doz</i> ) is not used	<i>Does</i> ( <i>doz</i> ) is used for habitual action
Progressive is only used for ongoing action	Progressive form of verb can indicate progressive or habitual, <i>He goin' home</i> .
The anterior marker can be <i>bin</i> , <i>ben</i> , <i>min</i> , <i>men</i> (in Jamaican Creole)	Anterior marker is <i>bin</i>
<i>De</i> , <i>da</i> (in Jamaican Creole), <i>a</i> is also general	Progressive marker is <i>a</i>
Future marker is <i>wi</i>	Future marker is <i>go</i>

**Caribbean creoles** A reference to a set of related but not identical creoles spoken in the Caribbean and ultimately descending from the fragmentary English picked up by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century African slaves in the area which was then expanded by later generations to yield these creoles. They all show certain features, to a varying extent, for example (1) verbs for adjectives (an African influence), (2) calquing, (3) reduplication (Holm 1994: 358–359 [5.3]). Other traits can be traced to input varieties of English, notably the system of aspect, in particular habitual aspect, which is expressed using forms of *do* and/or *be*. The *do* form is taken to stem from so-called ‘periphrastic *do*’ as in *I do call you a liar* (different from emphatic usage today as in *I 'do read books on linguistics* where *do* is stressed). This peaked in usage at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, above all in the west country of England and in Ireland, both of which were sources of settlers in the Caribbean, the west country speakers coming from the hinterland of the port of Bristol.

One argument for the Caribbean and early African American English use of *do* / *do be* is that the form diffused from Irish English into these varieties, see Rickford (1986 [5.1.10]) which investigated the extent and nature of contact between the Irish and black populations of America which began in the Caribbean (Barbados, Montserrat and to a lesser extent St. Kitts). Rickford also points out that there was considerable contact between Irish indentured servants and black slaves and that at a later stage a shift northwards, to mainland America, took place in the eighteenth century with the switch from earlier deportation to later emigration. The use of *be* in African American English and *does be* in Caribbean creoles would then reflect a differential influence of northern Irish English on the former and southern Irish English on the latter. This view has been contested because the chronology of aspect attestations does not match it (see Montgomery & Kirk 1996 [5.1.10.4]), though late attestations do not necessarily mean that a structure did not exist earlier in spoken varieties.

**Cartier, Jacques (1491–1557)** French explorer of eastern North America and what was later to become Canada.

**cascade model** See DIFFUSION, CASCADE MODEL OF.

**catastrophic theory** A view that change in pidgins and creoles is so rapid and complete that communication between generations can be impaired. This view is opposed to the notion of gradual and largely imperceptible language change.

**CATCH-raising** The movement upwards of the ASH-vowel from [æ] to [e]. This was a common feature of southern English English already in the eighteenth century, through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century and was transported to the Southern Hemisphere. However, in the latter half of the twentieth century this trend was reversed in Australia and now the vowel in the TRAP lexical set is lowered towards [a]. There is historical evidence of CATCH-raising in the word *ketch* ‘double-masted sailing boat’, related to the word *catch*.

**categorical rule** A rule which must be adhered to. These tend to be very basic, such as all sentences must have a subject, or low level in phonetics, for example all word-final stops and fricatives (OBSTRUENTS) are voiceless in German and Russian. In some varieties rules may be categorical and for others they may be variable, for example non-standard VERBAL CONCORD. See PROTOTYPE.

**category** A recognizable and delimited aspect of language which can be associated with a specific function. Any given language will contain, for instance, many grammatical categories such as number and case for nouns or person, as well as number, tense and usually aspect for verbs. The formal expression of a category, its exponence, may vary across varieties, cf. HABITUAL aspect which can be expressed in a number of ways.

**Caucasian** In an American context, this term refers to light-skinned people of European origin who were formerly thought to have originated in the Caucasus. The term is not common in Britain.

**Cawdrey, Robert** A schoolmaster whose reputation is founded on *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604) which is taken to be the first English monolingual dictionary. His exact dates of birth and death are not known.

**Cayman Islands** A group of islands in the Western Caribbean, south of Cuba and west of Jamaica. The three major islands of the Caymans are Grand Cayman, Cayman Brac, and Little Cayman. They have an area of 264 sq km and a population of 55,000. The islands were visited by Columbus in 1503, became British in 1670 and were later settled by Jamaicans. When Jamaica became independent in 1962 the Caymans decided to remain a British dependency. The official language is English while the vernacular is a Western Caribbean creole.

**ceceo, seseo, distinción** A reference in Spanish to various pronunciations of fricatives as (i) inter-dental, (ii) alveolar or (iii) a mixture of both depending on the input in question. Castilian Spanish, the standard in Spain, which has the inter-dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, as in *cerro* /θerɾo/ 'hill' and *nada* /naða/ 'nothing', also has *distinción*, distinguishing between inter-dental and alveolar fricatives, for example *servicio* /serβiθio/ 'service'. Dialects with *ceceo* generalize the inter-dental fricatives. Those with *seseo* only have alveolar fricatives, for example *cerveza* /serβesa/ 'beer'. *Seseo* is typical of southern varieties in Spain, above all in Andalusia, and because these provided the early input to Latin America varieties of Spanish in the New World have *seseo*. This in turn means that speakers of Central American Spanish in the United States, Chicano English speakers, use other sounds for the inter-dental fricatives of English, usually /t, d/ or sometimes /s, z/, because they do not have inter-dental fricatives in their own forms of Spanish. *See* CHICANO ENGLISH.

**Celtic regions, the** Before the arrival of the Romans (in the last decades BCE) and before the coming of the Germanic tribes as of the fifth century CE the British Isles were almost entirely Celtic. Since then the Celts have lost ground to expanding English speakers with a present-day distribution on the fringe of the British Isles. Celtic is a branch of the Indo-European family. Today there are six surviving languages (strictly speaking four with native speakers), (Q-Celtic) Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx and (P-Celtic) Welsh, Cornish and Breton. Celtic is divided into two main branches on the basis of early treatment of keywords, cf. Welsh *pemp* and Irish *chuig* 'five' where the former has a /p/ and the latter a velar reflex of /kw/ at the beginning of the word. Today the most vital language is Welsh with several hundred thousand speakers, though as with the other Celtic languages, speakers' language competence varies greatly. In all the Celtic regions English has been much affected by the structure of the particular Celtic language spoken there. Pronunciation and sentence patterns are the two areas which show greatest diversity. *See* IRISH ENGLISH, SCOTS, SCOTTISH STANDARD ENGLISH, WELSH ENGLISH. Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto (2008 [1]) examined the historical relationship of English to Celtic.

**Central Belt** A term for the central region of Scotland roughly from Glasgow in the west to Edinburgh in the east. It is the region with the highest population density in Scotland and is traditionally a Scots-speaking area.

**central vowel** A certain type of vowel which lacks either a front or a back quality. The commonest central vowel is schwa [ə] which typically occurs as a non-stressed variant of a short vowel in English as in *Canada* ['kænədə]. High central vowels are also found: [ɨ] is a traditional Scottish realization of English /u:/.

**centralized** Refers to a vowel, usually short, which is realized in a position more to the centre of the mouth than the corresponding long vowel, for example [ɪ] versus [i:] or [ʊ] versus [u:].

**centring diphthong** *See* DIPHTHONG, CENTRING.

**chain shift** Any set of changes which can be viewed as interconnected so that movement of one element entails movement of others. An historical chain shift is the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT, while present-day examples include the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT, the SOUTHERN SHIFT and the DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT.

**CHAIR-CHEER merger** A recent development in New Zealand English where the vowels /ε/ and /ɪ/ before schwa (historically from /r/) have merged to a single value, the higher vowel /ɪ/. See Hay, Warren and Drager (2006 [8.2]). A similar merger, termed the NEAR-SQUARE merger, is found in other vernacular varieties, for example in Newfoundland English (Clarke 2010: 41 [5.2.8]).

**Chancery Standard** The formation of a relatively uniform written variety in London goes back to the eastern form of midland Middle English and to scribal practices of the time. Already at the end of the fourteenth century there was a group of non-clerical scribes who used a conventionalized orthography (Strang 1970: 157 [1.5]). By the mid fifteenth century this form was accepted for official usage (Leith 1992 [1983]: 40 [1.5]). Above all the language of the *Chancery*, an official department in London which prepared documents for the court, played a considerable role in the emergence of a written standard (Fisher 1977 [1], 1996 [1]). The *Chancery* was responsible for legal and parliamentary documents as well as for those which were written on the commission of the king (Fisher 1977: 875–876 [1]). The *Chancery* recruited its scribes from all parts of England and had its seat at Westminster (from the middle of the fourteenth century).

**change** An alteration in the language system used by a social group. The term ‘change’ gains significance in contrast to ‘innovation’, the latter referring to an alteration, as in the pronunciation of a sound or the use of a new phrase or structure which does not hold for all speakers in a group and which does not change the system of the variety in question. When an innovation spreads to an entire community and is irreversible for a later generation one can speak of ‘change’.

**change, incipient** A term used by some scholars to refer to a change which is not yet fully established and whose future is uncertain, that is it may peter out rather than spread. An example of this would be the lowering of the vowels in the KIT and DRESS vowels in Philadelphia or the lowering of DRESS and retraction of TRAP in non-vernacular Dublin English.

**change, language** *See* LANGUAGE CHANGE.

**change, present-day grammatical** A reference to changes taking place in non-vernacular varieties of English mostly in Britain and in the United States and Canada, but also in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand (primary SETTLER ENGLISH countries). Throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century the following areas have been identified by Leech *et al.* (2009 [1.2.9]) as showing variation and change.

(1) *The subjunctive mood* The demise and revival, especially in British and American English, of the mandative subjunctive, cf. *She insists that he come tonight*. The *were* subjunctive, for example *If he were more attentive in class his grades would be better*, is considered a recessive formal option.

(2) *The modal auxiliaries* There is an apparent decline of true modals (depending on register): *shall*, *ought to* and *need(n't)* are at the bottom of the frequency scale. The decline is connected

**Table 4** Changing grammatical features of present-day English.

<i>recessive</i>	<i>emergent</i>
modal auxiliaries	semi-modals
<i>be</i> -passives	<i>get</i> -passives
<i>of</i> -phrases	<i>s</i> -genitives
<i>wh</i> -relativization	<i>that</i> or zero relativization

to a corresponding expansion of semi-modals, particularly apparent with *have to* for (deontic) *must*, cf. *You have to pay your TV license*.

(3) *The progressive* This has spread to contexts in which it was hitherto not found, for example with stative verbs, *He's wanting to work elsewhere* (there are differences here between British and American English) and the distribution of the progressive by genre shows a scale of usage. Furthermore, varieties of English in South Africa have always shown a greater range for the progressive (on Black South African English, see Van Rooy 2006 [6.3.1.3]).

(4) *The passive voice* The expansion of the *get* passive at the expense of *be* passives, *They got fined for speeding*. There is also an increase of so-called medio-passives as in *Organic food sells well nowadays*; note its use for adjectives in *-able*, for example, *The buckles adjust easily* for *The buckles are easily adjustable*.

(5) *Expanded predicates* The use of *take* and *have* as expanded predicates, for example *Have / take a look at the car*.

(6) *Genitives* There is an expansion of *s*-genitives into inanimate contexts where previously *of*-genitives were used, for example *The car's motor*, *The building's roof*.

Other areas of change which one could mention would be (7) the great increase in noun to verb conversion, as in *to mailshot the electorate*, *to ring-fence the funding*, *the way we holiday today*; (8) the use of phrasal verbs as adjectives, both attributive and predicative, as in *It's a must-have item*, *It was such a put-down*, *a get-out clause*, *joined-up thinking*, often in elliptical form, for example *a separated father*, *receipted childminders*, leading to considerable structural compaction, cf. *a gated community* < *a community which lives in an enclosed area with security gates*; (9) shifts to direct object, for example *to report (about) X*, *to appeal (against) X*, *to protest (about) X*; (10) changes in subcategorization, for example a shift in animacy with subjects as in *This door is alarmed* (Hickey 2006 [1.2.9]).

None of the above phenomena represents categorical change in English grammar. Rather they are alterations in range and usage (Leech *et al.* 2009 [1.2.9] speak of structures 'losing ground' and 'gaining ground') and could be arranged as recessive vs emergent as shown in Table 4 above.

These changes represent possible trajectories for major change in the future if the pathways, which are now recognizable, are continued and expanded and if the changes become CATEGORICAL. See Mair (2006 [1.2.9]) and CHANGE, SYNTACTIC.

**change, present-day lexical** There are several types of lexical change in non-vernacular varieties of English, usually involving extension or restriction in meaning. Extensions would be *joy* meaning 'success', for example *He got no joy out of the insurance firm*; *culture* meaning 'general social behaviour', for example *The culture of violence in modern society*; *philosophy* meaning 'policy', for example *The new philosophy of the company is to diversify*; *issue* meaning 'difficulty', for example *Unfortunately, our customers have been experiencing issues*. Examples of restriction are rarer but one would be *intercourse* which is now restricted to a sexual sense. Semantic shifts can involve new meanings not necessarily related to original ones. An example is *technically* meaning 'in a strict sense', for example *Technically, he was within the law*.



**change, present-day phonetic** It is not possible to specify sound changes which apply across the board to non-vernacular varieties of English. Hence items of change are dealt with in the entries for specific regions or countries.

**change, syntactic** Changes in the hierarchical relationship of words to each other in sentences. With syntactic change, combinations of words that had hitherto been unacceptable to native speakers become widespread. Syntactic change is essentially different from phonological change in that syntactic structures do not occur as frequently as phonological ones and hence are not as readily available for sociolinguistic assessment by others. Syntactic structures are less likely to have an identification function like phonological factors as there may well be stretches of speech in which a given syntactic structure does not occur at all. There are also certain sites in sentences in which features are prominent. For instance, emphatic contexts – topicalised clauses, positions of stress, the main verb phrase in a sentence – would appear to be favoured sites for structures which have a social significance in a community. Conversely less prominent contexts – subordinate clauses, weakly affirmative sentences – may be the sites at which incoming variants may first appear because of their low salience and spread from here to more marked contexts. This means that a change may at first be in evidence in less common contexts, that is, it might appear that less frequent patterns are at the leading edge during change. This would mean that more common patterns do not in fact lead the way, at least not in situations of language contact in which transfer is taking place. See Cheshire (1996 [1.2]) and CHANGE, PRESENT-DAY GRAMMATICAL.

**change from above, below** A classification of the sources of language change introduced by William LABOV. Change from above is a conscious process, that is above the level of social awareness, and is initiated by a socially dominant group. For example, the borrowings of words or phrases from other languages; this often runs parallel to extra-linguistic changes such as the rise of an educated middle class. Change from below, on the other hand, is a largely unconscious process, below the level of social awareness, often occurring in the speech of low-prestige groups leading to shifts in vernacular norms.

**Channel Islands** British Crown Dependencies off the coast of Normandy in the English Channel whose full title is *The Channel Island Bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey*. The two main islands are Jersey and Guernsey. The third largest island, Sark, is considerably smaller than either of these. The Channel Islands have been English possessions since the Norman invasion of England by William the Conqueror in 1066 (they had previously been annexed by Normandy in 933). Unlike the United Kingdom, they are not part of the European Union. English and varieties of Norman French are spoken on the islands with the latter influencing the former in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. Features of Channel Islands English include retracted variants of the PRICE vowel, [ɔ] in the STRUT set and H-dropping; the frequent use of the pragmatic particle *eh* [ei]. T-glottalization and TH-fronting are incoming features from the English mainland found among young speakers in the towns. See Ramisch (1989 [4.1], 2007 [4.1], 2008 [4.1]).

**Charleston** A city on the central coast of South Carolina which was founded in the late seventeenth century. In the Antebellum Period (1785–1860) Charleston was a prosperous city and port, both for the importation of slaves and the export of cotton; the plantation economy of its hinterland grew considerably with the invention in 1793 of the cotton gin ‘cotton engine’ which boosted the production of this crop. The pronunciation of English set, and still sets, Charleston apart from the rest of the South. Traditional features, now highly recessive, include long mid monophthongs in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets, differential realizations of /ai/ and /au/

before voiceless and voiced segments (similar to CANADIAN RAISING) and the NEAR-SQUARE MERGER. Present-day Charleston speech is notable for not participating in the SOUTHERN SHIFT and for a fronting of the onsets of diphthongized GOOSE and GOAT vowels as in *two* and *go*. According to Baranowski (2007, 2008 [5.1.9]) this fronting is being led by the highest-status social group and so does not seem to conform to Labov's CURVILINEAR PRINCIPLE.

**chat** An abbreviation of *chatter*, an imitative word indicating rapid talk, often implied to be about trivial matters and wrongly viewed to be only typical of females. Although the contents of conversation may not always be of primary importance, engaging in chat serves an important function in social bonding between individuals.

**chat, online** Engaging in real-time chat with others over the Internet via an online forum. This may be on a one-to-one or one-to-many basis. As it is typed and runs in real-time, online chat often involves a heavy use of shorthand as does text messaging, *see* SHORT MESSAGE SERVICE (SMS). Because individuals are only in virtual contact with each other many of the conventions of social interaction may not apply and aggressive or insulting communications may be the result, *see* FLAMING.

**Chicano [tʃi'ka:nou] English** A reference to vernacular varieties of English spoken by Spanish immigrants in the south-west of the United States. Most of these are from Mexico ('Chicano' apparently derives from this name). There is a long association of the south-west of the present-day United States with Mexico. At the beginning of the colonial period in the seventeenth century the entire area of western North America was called New Spain and under Spanish control. With the foundation of the United States (declared 1776, acknowledged 1783) and the Louisiana Purchase (1803) the country spread to two thirds of its present-day geographical extent and with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which concluded the Mexican–American War (1846–1848) the United States terminated Spanish Mexican control of the west. However, there has been a steady influx of Mexican immigrants to the states bordering on Mexico (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California) and further north, for example to Nevada, Utah and Colorado. People from Central American countries have also been among these immigrants so that, at around 40 million, Spanish-speaking or Spanish-descent Americans constitute the major ethnic population of today's United States. Chicano English covers a range of varieties and applies to both L1 and L2 speakers of English. In its most basilectal form it shows considerable influence from (Central American) Spanish.

*Phonology* (1) Chicano English merges /æ/ and /e/, so *man* and *men* are homophonous and /i:/ and /ɪ/ merge into [i], so *ship* and *sheep* are pronounced the same. (2) The PHONOTACTICS of Spanish does not generally allow clusters in word-final position which means that words ending in a consonant cluster have this simplified: *most* /mos/, *felt* /fel/. (3) /z/ is devoiced in all environments, for example *easy* [isi], *was* [was, was]. (4) word-final /m/ is realized as /n/, for example *jam* [ɟɛn]. (5) word-final /v/ is devoiced, for example *love* [laf], *have* [hef, xɛf], *wives* [waifs]. (6) Chicano speakers may realize /v/ as [b], for example *live* [lib], *invite* [inbait]. (7) /θ/ and /ð/ may be pronounced as /t/ and /d/, /s/ and /z/ or occasionally as /f/ and /v/, for example *think* may be [tink], [sink] or [fink] (*see* CECEO). (8) /ɟ/ may be realized as /j/ or vice versa, for example *joke* [jok], *you* [ɟu], *just* [jas], *yet* [ɟɛt]. (9) /r/ is usually realized as a flap, for example *ready* [redi]. (10) They may be a collapse of /tʃ/ and /ʃ/, for example *chip* and *ship*, both /ʃip/. (11) Final /d/ may be devoiced, for example *hid* [hit].

*Vocabulary* Apart from actual Spanish words used in English because of CODE-SWITCHING Chicano English speakers may use words related in sound but different in meaning, so-called 'false friends', for example *molest* to mean 'disturb' based on Spanish *molestar* with this



meaning. Other instances are extensions of English meanings, for example *barely* to mean ‘just recently’ as in *She barely rang her mother*.

Apart from the south-west, Spanish has a significant presence in Florida (ceded by Spain in 1819) and in New York where many Puerto Ricans can be found from emigration in the mid twentieth century. See Fought (2003 [5.1.11]), Ornstein-Galicia (1988 [5.1.11]), Penfield (1985 [5.1.11]), Silva-Corvalán (2004 [5.1.11]). On Spanish in the north-east of the United States, see Zentella (2004 [5.1.11]).

**China** East Asian country, officially The People’s Republic of China, with an area of 9.64 million sq km and a population of c.1.35 billion with about 20 million living in the capital Beijing (somewhat less than in metropolitan Chongqing and Shanghai). Over 90 per cent of the population are Han Chinese concentrated in the east of the country; other major ethnic groups are Tibeto-Burmese, Turk and Mongolian in the south-west, west and north-west of China respectively. Mandarin Chinese is the official language with a number of other languages recognized regionally. English is a foreign language and used for international trade and commerce. HONG KONG was reincorporated into China after the handover in 1997. *See also* CHINESE PIDGIN ENGLISH.

**China, English in** English in China – including TAIWAN – is non-native but has spread rapidly in the last few decades, with about 400 million learners of English (about one third of the population), due to the importance of English at all levels of education, as well as in international trade and as a lingua franca.

An indigenous tradition of English teaching had in fact begun towards the end of the Qing era (1644–1912) and continued to some extent into the twentieth century. During the Republican Period (1912–1949) English was taught in missionary schools and Christian colleges which were not always viewed positively by the indigenous population. After the founding of The People’s Republic of China in 1949 the teaching of English as the major foreign language was eclipsed by Russian due to the Chinese-Russian detente. During the decade of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) the teaching of English was actually outlawed in many parts of China. With the ‘Open Door’ policy introduced in the late 1970s under Deng Xiaoping the way for extensive teaching was cleared and hence the following decades saw a dramatic increase in English language teaching (Bolton and Graddol 2012 [7.3.2]).

The degree of competence with Chinese speakers of English varies greatly but is not generally near the level found in English-using countries in South-East Asia such as Singapore or the Philippines. Phonetic interference from background languages is very obvious and the lack of consonant clusters, avoidance of vowel reduction, especially in function words, and a different range of vowel values in Chinese languages can diminish comprehensibility. In addition the intonation and stress used is quite different from native forms of English (Deterding 2006 [7.3.2]). *See* HONG KONG.

The newspaper *China Daily* (founded in 1981) is the major, state-controlled English language newspaper in The People’s Republic of China with about half a million copies per issue; of these about one third are for a foreign readership both within China and abroad. Another major newspaper is the *South China Morning Post* (founded in 1903) produced in Hong Kong with a circulation of about 100,000.

**Chinese Pidgin English** Along the south China coast a pidgin arose in the eighteenth century which was used during the nineteenth century at the trading stations, for example in Guangdong [Canton], by the native Chinese in their dealings with Europeans traders who had built factories and warehouses there. This pidgin has long since died out. *See* Bolton (2003 [7.3.2]).

**Chinook Jargon** A pidgin spoken in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Pacific north-west, along the coast of present-day British Columbia (Canada), Washington and Oregon (United States) which consisted of words from the native American language Chinook. It was used for trade purposes and included words from English as well. The word *potlatch* ‘ceremonial giving of gifts’ is of Chinook origin.

**CHOICE lexical set** The diphthong found in this set is /ɔi/ in standard English (British and American). But up to the eighteenth century the pronunciation was often /ai/, that is *boil* and *bile* were homophones (Barber 1997 [1976]: 304 [1]), and this was transported to overseas locations in many parts of North America (the Caribbean, United States and Canada). In the latter there are dialectal survivals of the older /ai/ pronunciation (Montgomery 2001: 139 [5.1.1]). Traditional rural varieties, for example in Ireland, may also maintain an open vowel in this lexical set.

**circles, three** A means of conceptualizing forms of English in the contemporary world which was introduced by the Indian scholar Braj KACHRU. In his view there is (1) an inner circle mainly comprising British and American English along with English in Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, Malta, anglophone Canada and South Africa, as well as some Caribbean countries; (2) an outer circle where English is not a native language, but is important for historical reasons (the countries are all ex-colonies of Britain) and plays a significant part in the nation’s institutions. This circle includes India, Nigeria, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Malaysia, Tanzania, Kenya, non-anglophone South Africa and Canada. (3) The expanding circle encompasses those countries where English plays no historical or governmental role, but where it is nevertheless widely used as a foreign language or lingua franca. This includes much of the rest of the world’s population: China, Japan, Korea, Russia, most of Europe, Egypt, Indonesia, etc. The inner circle with Britain and the United States is, according to Kachru, ‘norm-providing’; the outer circle is ‘norm-developing’ while the expanding circle is ‘norm-dependent’, because it relies on standards set by native speakers in the inner circle.

**clause** A syntactic unit which is smaller than a sentence. There are basically two types, main clauses and subordinate clauses, which are joined by certain grammatical words such as conjunctions or subordinators. Subordinate clauses include relative clauses as in *This is the book that/which/Ø she read recently*.

**clause polarity** A feature of English clause structure which specifies that tag questions have the reverse polarity to the clause to which they are attached, for example *He plays cricket, doesn’t he? She is not interested in linguistics, is she?*

**clear l** An /l/-sound produced with the tongue in a similar position to the vowel [i], that is with a front quality. It is typical of syllable-initial /l/ in RP, for example *leap* [li:p], otherwise a dark or velar l is used, for example *milk* [mɪlk].

**cleft sentence** A type of sentence used for topicalization purposes and which involves moving an element to the left and placing it in a dummy main clause with *it* as subject, for example *It’s tomorrow we’re leaving for Spain*. Such sentences occur with moderate frequency in standard English but in some varieties, such as Scottish and Irish English (Harris 1993: 175–176 [3.3]), they are much more common. In both Scottish and Irish English the number and kind of topicalized elements is far greater than in other forms of English English (*It’s to Dublin he’s gone today. It’s her brother who rang up this morning*). In some varieties fronting can take place without

clefting, simply by moving the topicalized element to the front, for example in South African Indian English, cf. *Banana you want; Near to Margate that is* (Mesthrie 1996: 90 [6.3.1.5]).

**click sounds** Sounds created by a closure at two points in the supraglottal tract, inducing negative pressure within the two points. This produces a kind of sucking, often hollow sound. Some clicks are reminiscent of initial /kl-/ in the word *clock* when pronounced slowly; other clicks sound like the sound of disapproval some people produce (occasionally written as *tst!* *tst!*) or the sound some persons make when handling a horse. Clicks are only found in Khoisan languages in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa as well as in adjoining Bantu languages such as XHOSA, whose name has an aspirated alveolar lateral click as first sound (*Xh* = [l<sup>h</sup>]).

**clipping** A common process whereby a word form is reduced in the number of syllables, for example *information* > *info*, *decaffeinated* > *decaff*, *desirable residence* > *des res*, etc.

**cliticization** A process whereby lexical elements attach to hosts and lose their phonetic and frequently semantic distinctiveness. An example is the reduction of *to* which is cliticized onto the preceding verb: *going to* > *gonna*, *want to* > *wanna*. Reduction in the phonetic form of words is common in rapid speech. When these forms are also used in slower speech styles they are said to be established.

**closed class** A term for a set of elements which form a relatively small class which is not altered by the individual speaker. For instance phonemes, grammatical morphemes and syntactic structures are closed classes but the lexicon is an open class as it is continuously expanding.

**closed syllable** Any syllable which ends in at least one consonant, for example *sick*, *six*, *sixth* or *sixths*.

**CLOTH lexical set** A set of words which have /n/ followed by /θ/. These words tend to have a short vowel in present-day English, but up to the mid twentieth century the vowel was generally long in RP. With other varieties there may be variation in length, for example *cloth* [klo:θ] but *broth* [brɒθ] in Irish English.

**cluster** A group of consonants which occur together, either in a syllable onset or coda, for example /spr-/ *spray* or /-sts/ *tests* in English. The permissible clusters in a language are part of PHONOTACTICS.

**cluster emigration** A type of emigration during the colonial period (1600–1900) in which emigrants from a particular source region tended to congregate in a certain area overseas. This kind of emigration led to concentrations of dialect speakers, for example the Scottish settlers in the Otago and Southland regions of New Zealand's southern island.

**cluster reduction** A widespread tendency in varieties of English to simplify syllable-final clusters by reducing the number of sounds they contain, for example *task* > [tæs], *cold* > [ko:l], *last* [la:s]. This is a prominent feature of African American English but is also found in many other vernacular varieties. See Schreier (2005 [1.6]) and CODA.

**coarticulation** A phenomenon in the production of speech where there are transitions and overlaps in the articulations of segments, for example the coarticulation of /ə/ and /r/ in a

word like *bird* in a rhotic variety leads to a rhotacized central vowel, [ɜ̃]; coarticulation of a vowel and a following nasal, for example in *man*, can lead to the vowel being nasalized; a voiceless consonant preceding a voiced one can lead to this becoming voiceless, for example *clean* [kl̥i:n]. Such effects can lead to permanent language change if they become typical of the majority of speakers in a community.

**Cobbett, William (1763–1835)** The author of an *English Grammar* (1818) and a *Grammar of the English Language in a Series of Letters* (1829). These works, which were intended for autodidactic use, are written in plain and simple English and contain useful information, for instance on possible verb forms in the early nineteenth century.

**Cockney** The urban dialect of LONDON, covering a range of vernacular varieties. The name derives from ‘cocks’ egg’, that is something impossible, a self-debunking term used by Londoners for their own speech. Cockney developed separately from the precursor varieties of RP which had their origin in the late medieval English of the capital. In the early modern period these varieties became a closely-knit set of prestigious sociolects used in official quarters and in the educational system. Cockney continued many changes which have their roots in late Middle English, for instance it has carried the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT further than RP. Cockney is also known for RHYMING SLANG. See ESTUARY ENGLISH, RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION.

*Phonology* (1) H-dropping, for example *hand* [ænd]; (2) TH-fronting, for example *think* [fɪŋk]; (3) MOUTH-monophthongization, for example *town* [tɛ:n]; (4) intervocalic T-glottalling, for example *pity* ['piʔi] and final T-glottalling, for example *cut* [kʌʔ]; (5) vocalization of preconsonantal, final /l/, for example *spilt* [spiʊt]; (6) variable HAPPY-tensing, for example *pretty* ['priʔi]; (7) yod coalescence in stressed syllables, for example *tune* [tʃu:n]; (8) diphthong shifts in FACE, PRICE, GOAT, for example [fæɪs] (RP: [feɪs]), [prɔɪs] (RP: [praɪs]), [gʌʊt] (RP: [gəʊt]). See Wells (1982 [1], 1994 [2.4]); MOCKNEY.

**Cockneyfication** See ESTUARY ENGLISH and Wells (1994 [2.4]).

**coda** The end of a syllable, that part which follows the nucleus, for example /-ts/ in *cats*. There is a general tendency to phonetically reduce codas. This trend is largely responsible for the loss of inflections in the history of English. Synchronically, coda simplification is found in many second-language varieties of English spoken in South-East and East Asia, for example *picked* [pɪk], due to the widespread lack of coda clusters in native languages in this large area.

**code** In a sociolinguistic context this term is used as a very broad label for a variety or a language. It is intended to be the most general and neutral of terms.

**code, elaborated versus restricted** Two terms devised by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein (1924–2000) to refer to the putatively more expressive speech used by the educated in Britain compared to the supposedly impoverished speech found with the less well educated. These notions were contested by linguists who saw Bernstein applying prescriptive notions to vernaculars.

**code-mixing** Among bilingual individuals, the act of mixing elements, words and/or sentences, from one variety/language with those from another.

**code-switching** Moving from one language to another within a single sentence or phrase. It is found among bilinguals who feel it appropriate to change languages (or dialects in some cases) – perhaps to say something which speakers feel can best be said in the language switched to. Code-switching is normally divided into two broad types: (i) inter-sentential and (ii) intra-sentential. The latter is governed by fairly strict rules concerning the points in a sentence at which one can change over, for example between clauses. See Muysken and Milroy (eds, 1995 [1.3.8]), Myers-Scotton (ed., 1998 [1.3.8]).

**codification** A process whereby variation in language is reduced and becomes fixed. It can be divided into *overt* and *covert* types, depending on whether there is explicit, formal codification, often encapsulated in grammars and dictionaries or on whether the codification is implicit, something speakers are aware of but which is not set out in writing. Former features which are excluded from a later codified norm usually become stigmatized, for example demonstrative *them* or *done* as a preterite. See Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.3]).

**cognate** A word/form which is historically related to another, usually in a different language, for example English *heart* is cognate with Greek *kardia* because both have the same Indo-European root.

**collective noun** A type of noun which denotes a collection of items and which cannot take an indefinite article or occur in the plural, for example *furniture* in English but not \**furnitures* or \**a furniture*. Plurals for these nouns can be formed with a plural qualifier, for example *kinds of X* or *types of X* while a member of the collection can be referenced with a partitive qualifier such as *bit of X* or *item of X*. See MASS NOUN / UNCOUNTABLE NOUN.

**colloquial** A term referring to a REGISTER of language which is informal, normally only spoken and which deliberately contrasts with written norms. Colloquial registers are innovative in that most instances of language change first occur in these.

**colonial English(es)** A collective reference to all varieties of English which were carried either from Britain or Ireland to locations overseas (after about 1600). These were the first language forms of English emigrants (deportees or settlers) and continued in an unbroken line at the new locations, for example in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand. The English language in Scotland and Wales goes back to forms of Old English and in Ireland to forms of Middle English and are not subsumed under the present term. See Hickey (ed., 2004c [10.2]).

**colonial lag** A term used to denote the supposed conservatism of dialects at a distance from the historical homeland such as colonial varieties of English (Görlach 1987 [1.2.6]). The reason proposed for the lag is that these varieties were cut off from the country of origin at some early point in their history and did not undergo those developments which took place there. Two lexical examples would be the use in American English of *mail* (*Royal Mail* in England shows the older form) and *fall* but *post* and *autumn* (both later French loans) in British English. A grammatical example would be the use of *gotten* (past participle of *get* in the sense of ‘receive’) in American English but *got* (the later shortened form) in British English (that American usage is the older can be shown by comparing prefixed forms of this verb in British English, cf. *beget* – *begot* – *begotten*; *forget* – *forgot* – *forgotten*). Phonologically, the

presence of non-prevocalic /r/ in American English can, to a certain extent, be interpreted as a retention of early input. In Dublin English the presence of a long vowel /ɔ:/ before voiceless fricatives is a further instance, cf. *frost* /frɔ:st/, *lost* /lɔ:st/ (this vowel was shortened in the nineteenth century in England).

Historically, commentators on varieties of English outside Britain tend to highlight their conservative nature. For the FORTH AND BARGY dialect in Ireland Richard Stanyhurst remarked in 1577 on the similarity between that variety and Chaucerian English. For other varieties the supposed similarity to English of the Elizabethan era or to that of Shakespeare is asserted, cf. remarks on Appalachian English (Montgomery 2001: 107–109 [5.1.1]; Schneider 2003 [5.1.9]). Precisely what such labels mean is frequently not specified, the putative antiquity being the important point.

A closer look at allegedly conservative dialects reveals that they are not simply preserved versions of input forms but have themselves gone through further processes. They can be inherited, that is overseas varieties continue processes initiated at their historical source (Branford 1994: 477 [6.3.1]), as with the raising of short front vowels in the Southern Hemisphere. Varieties at new locations obviously undergo independent developments which may be triggered by language/dialect contact or result from internal motivation within the language or are triggered by the new society using it. In addition, the specific nature of an overseas variety may rest substantially on dialect mixture, given settlers from different regions of Britain and Ireland (Hickey 2003 [1.2.6], Trudgill 2004 [1.2.6]).

**colonial period (lowercase spelling)** The period from approximately 1600 to 1900 during which England maintained colonies overseas. Many people from Britain and Ireland emigrated carrying their varieties of English to these locations. The colonial period started with the first overseas colonies in the Caribbean beginning in the 1620s. It ended gradually during the twentieth century after World War II with the independence of major colonies in Asia such as India (split into India and East and West Pakistan in 1947) and in Africa such as Ghana (1957) and Nigeria (1960). Some regions of the world, such as parts of West Africa and South-East Asia, did not so much consist of colonies but of trading stations which were run by commercial enterprises such as the EAST INDIA COMPANY which was nationalized in 1858.

**Colonial Period (uppercase spelling)** A division in the history of English in America which spans the time from the first settlement at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. *See* INTERNATIONAL PERIOD, NATIONAL PERIOD.

**colonialism, European** A largely uncoordinated enterprise which began in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and which consisted of major European countries taking, administering and maintaining colonies overseas. The early colonial powers were the five maritime powers of western Europe, Portugal, Spain, England, France and Holland (then the Dutch Republic). The initial motivation for founding overseas colonies differed somewhat: Spain was concerned with exploiting the mineral riches of Central and South America, England and Holland were interested in consumer goods such as cane sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee and spices. Both France and England used their colonies as places to deport prisoners to. There was considerable vying between different powers for the possession of colonies. An obvious case of this is the Caribbean island of Hispaniola which was divided between the French and Spanish with the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) resulting in present-day Haiti and the Dominican



Republic respectively; Jamaica was originally settled by the Spanish but was taken by the English in 1655. A large tract of land on the northern coast of South America was divided into three parts to give British, Dutch and French Guyana. The Philippines were first colonized by the Spanish but were taken over by the Americans in 1898 after the military defeat of the Spanish by the latter.

The colonies were settled in various ways: adventurers often went out in the early days as did religious refugees such as the Puritans in Massachusetts or in Providencia (south-west Caribbean). Apart from deportees there were also indentured labourers who chose to go to the colonies to work for a set period of time and later be released. There followed regular settlers, above all to North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. Most of these left because of unfavourable conditions at home, often due to extreme circumstances such as famine. In all cases the early settlers were those which had the greatest influence on the varieties which developed in the colonies.

The notion of ‘empire’ stems from a view of the colonies as ‘trophy’ of the colonializing country. This applied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries above all to locations in Africa and Asia, for example India. Much debate of the imperial mindset has taken place in recent decades within post-colonial studies. It is regarded as responsible for the ambivalent attitudes to the former colonizers which are found in post-colonial countries.

**Coloured** In the Southern African context and, especially in South Africa, this is a reference to those people of mixed heritage with one part European and another Bantu or Khoe. Such people may stem partly from regions of Asia, for example Indonesia, Malaysia, or the Indian Ocean, for example Mauritius, where the Dutch had colonial interests and from where they transported slaves, chiefly to the Cape region of South Africa during the colonial period. The classification achieved notoriety during the Apartheid Era in SOUTH AFRICA because the civil rights of this group were severely curtailed.

**Columbus, Christopher (1451–1506)** Italian/Spanish explorer and modern discoverer of America via the Caribbean where he landed in 1492 in search of an alternative route to India.

**come + V-ing** In AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH *come* with V-ing, as in *She come acting like she was real mad*, is a structure used to express indignation on the part of the speaker.

**COMMA lexical set** A reference to words which contain a short unstressed central vowel, usually schwa [ə], as in the second syllable of this keyword. See Wells (1982 [1]).

**common core theory** A view that pidgins and creoles share a common stock of grammatical, and possibly phonological, features which can stem from (1) the original *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean area in the late Middle Ages which provided the initial input for all pidgins (and later creoles) or (2) the language universal nature of pidgins and even more of creoles. See Romaine (1988 [9]).

**communicative competence** The ability to use the language one has acquired in actual communication. This concerns the mastery of pragmatics as opposed to that of a language’s structure. The concept is associated with the American linguist and anthropologist Dell Hymes (1927–2009).

**community of practice** A concept from sociology which refers to those individuals who share a particular occupation or engage in a common activity. This has been analysed from a linguistic point of view to see whether language norms are determined by communities of practice and whether these can initiate language change. See Eckert (2000 [1.1.13]).

**comparative method** The method used in comparative philology. The technique involves comparing COGNATE forms from genetically related languages (such as those of the INDO-EUROPEAN family) with a view to reconstructing the proto-language from which all others can be taken to have derived. Such a method takes regular sound changes and later analogy into account. This allows one to link up forms which are superficially different but which can be traced back to a single form, itself usually unattested. For instance English *heart*, German *Herz*, Latin *cordia*, Greek *kardia* can be shown to derive regularly from an Indo-European root *kerd*. See INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION.

**comparative philology** A branch of linguistics which is concerned with studying the historical relationships between members of one or more language families. The usual concern is with the INDO-EUROPEAN family which is very well documented. This branch started its development at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was the dominant school of linguistics until the advent of structuralism with Ferdinand de SAUSSURE at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**comparative *what*** A reference to the use of the interrogative *what* in comparisons: *She has the same problem as what I have, Life is much easier now than what it was*. This is common in rural vernaculars in Ireland and may be the result of transfer from Irish which forms comparatives in a similar fashion. However, it also occurs in the south-east of England (Anderwald 2008: 459 [2.7]) where no Celtic influence can be assumed, for example *So he's about eight years younger than what I am*.

**comparatives, double** The use of both a comparative adverb – *more* or *most* – and a comparative ending together as in *She is the most kindest woman*. This is not part of the standard in English but has a long tradition, for example it occurs in Shakespeare's plays, and is widespread in traditional dialects, for example in the north of England (Beal 2008b [2.10]).

**compensatory lengthening** A process whereby a vowel is lengthened when a consonant after it is lost. For instance, English *light* comes from Old English [liçt] which became [li:t] in Middle English and then [laɪt] after the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT. The phenomenon can also be seen when one compares German *fünf* /fʏnf/ and English *five*. The German word has a short vowel and a nasal. The latter was lost in English and the vowel before it was lengthened to /i:/, this later diphthongizing to /ai/ giving /faɪv/. An important aspect of compensatory lengthening is that the quantity (or weight) of the syllable rhyme (nucleus and coda together) remains the same; in the above examples, short vowel + single consonant to long vowel does not represent a change in quantity.

**competence and performance** According to Noam Chomsky (1928– ) in his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965) competence is the abstract ability of individuals to speak the language they acquired in early childhood. The competence of a speaker is unaffected by such factors as nervousness, temporary loss of memory, speech errors, etc. These latter phenomena are the domain of performance, the application of one's competence in the act of speaking. Competence also refers to the ability to judge if a sentence is grammatically well formed; it is an unconscious ability.



**complaint tradition** A collective reference to many historical documents throughout the history of English which lamented the state of the language (tied up to broader complaints of the country as a whole). From the eighteenth century onwards the complaint tradition encompasses laments about the lack of standards in the use of contemporary English. This tradition has continued into the twenty-first century and often serves the purpose of promoting the remedial works of those who engage in it. *See* PRESCRIPTIVISM, NEW.

**complement** A term referring to a clause which has the function of a noun phrase in a sentence, for example *She said the sentence was difficult* (cf. *She said a sentence*). Another more general use is as an element which gives more information about another element.

**complementary distribution** A distribution of allophones of a phoneme which only allows one in a given position in a word, for instance in English (RP) the velarized [ɫ] is only found in final position, e.g. *ill* [ɪɫ], but not at the beginning of a word *leap* [li:p] (with an alveolar /l/). Complementary distribution is, however, not sufficient to show that sounds are allophones of a single phoneme. For example, [h] and [ŋ] are in complementary distribution in English, cf. *hat* and *song*, but they are phonetically too dissimilar to be assigned to one phoneme.

**concord with tags, lack of reverse** In some varieties it is possible to disregard the reverse concord requirement for tags, for example *He's gone now, is it?* This is a feature of Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 202 [2.10]), for instance, and (independently) of South African English (McArthur 2002: 291 [10]).

**concordance** A list of words which is gained by examining a text corpus such as the works of an author or a set of newspaper articles. The list is always ordered according to some criterion, such as alphabetically or by grammatical ending or by lexical base. Concordances are useful when making statistical statements about the language of a corpus. They usually show keywords in context by highlighting them on a line with a few words to the right and left.

**conditioned** A type of sound change which is determined by the phonetic environment in which segments are found. For instance, the lengthening of /i/ and /u/ in late Old English, for example, in *mind* and *found* to /mi:nd/ and /fu:nd/ (later /maind/ and /faund/) respectively, was due to the nasal and homorganic stop which formed the coda in which the high vowels were found. An unconditioned change does not show this dependence on environment, for example the vowel lengthenings which are referred to collectively as the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT.

**conjugation** A term for the inflections of verbs. These depend on such factors as tense, mood, person and number. A set of verbal inflections is also termed an inflectional paradigm. The term is sometimes used to refer to the class of verbs which shares sets of forms, for example the weak conjugation would refer to all verbs in English which form their past tense by suffixation of an alveolar stop, for example *laugh* : *laughed*, and not by an alteration of the root vowel as in *sing* : *sang* : *sung*.

**conjunct** A term referring to adverbs which have a linking function in a sentence or across sentences, for example *She is quite young. However, she is already interested in linguistics.*

**connectors, temporal** (1) *Whenever* meaning ‘when’. This is a feature of Northern Irish English, for example *Whenever George VI was King* (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 70 [1]). This is also attested for the American Midland region (Montgomery 2001: 150 [5.1.1]). (2) *While* meaning ‘until’, a feature found in parts of northern England (Yorkshire), for example *Wait while six o’clock* (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 70 [1]).

**connotation** Additional meaning which arises due to the associations a word has. For instance, the words *tragedy* and *disaster* can be used with similar meanings. However, the former does not imply individual culpability, for example *Getting cancer at such a young age was a tragedy*. This connotation can be exploited to imply a lack of responsibility, for example *The authorities are saddened by this terrible tragedy*.

**consonant** One of the two main classes of sound. Consonants are formed by a constriction in the supraglottal tract (or occasionally at the vocal folds as with the glottal stop [ʔ]). They divide into the following main types: (1) stops – /p, t, k/ for instance, (2) fricatives – /f, θ, s, ʃ/ – and (3) affricates – /tʃ, dʒ/. Consonants contrast with vowels in their relatively low sonority and are hence found typically in the margins of syllables, that is in onsets and codas as in *stopped* /stɒpt/.

**consonant cluster reduction** See FINAL CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION.

**constraint hierarchy** A hierarchy which specifies the order in which certain forms are likely to occur, for instance, suffixal *-s* with verbs which may occur with nominal subjects, with compound subjects, only with a certain person and number, etc. Such hierarchies are assumed to be transferred across generations and to be transported to new locations offering evidence for dialect continuity among varieties, especially in communities characterized by relative isolation (Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001 [5.1.10.4]).

**contact** A term for a situation in which speakers of two languages or varieties are continually in contact with each other, either due to geographical or social closeness or both. The mutual influence which results from such contact can and does lead to changes in the structure – or at least in the lexicon – of one or both languages/varieties. When contact is prolonged, structural convergence between languages/varieties can be the result. Varieties of English can be classified as ‘high-contact’ and ‘low-contact’ varieties (labels favoured by the British sociolinguist Peter TRUDGILL).

Speakers can come in contact for a number of reasons. Formerly, invasion by a foreign power led to contact between invaders and the invaded. More recently, immigration to a country, frequently in search of work, is a common cause of contact. The results of language contact depend on a variety of factors, not least the relative social standing of the groups involved, the question of power and prestige for the speakers, the relatedness of the languages in contact and the age of the speakers who experience the contact. Contact can be transient or intensive, it can be short-lived or last centuries. It can lead to language shift (one of the languages is abandoned by its native speakers). The levels of language involved (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary) and the way in which they are affected can lead to different results in different situations. The effects of contact are most obvious in lexical borrowing. Phonological and grammatical features may also stem from contact, but this can be more difficult to demonstrate, especially for syntax as often there is not only one

**Table 5** Classification of language contact scenarios.

<i>Type of Contact</i>	<i>Effect</i>
(1) Indirect ‘cultural’ contact, no speaker interaction (English and other languages today). Contact, but little if any bilingualism (French and Middle English in late medieval times).	Only loanwords, ‘cultural borrowings’. No effect on the grammar of the receiving language.
(2) Contact with strong speaker interaction. Approximation of one or both languages (late Old English and Old Norse).	Koinézation or dialect levelling, some structural permeation with typologically similar languages.
(3) Contact with language shift (Irish > English; Bhojpuri/Tamil > English [South Africa]; Native American languages > English [United States, Canada]).	‘Speech habits’ of outset transferred to target, grammatical interference found in non-prescriptive environments (without formal education).
(4) Contact but restricted input, unguided acquisition (with creoles in the Caribbean and many islands of the Pacific), no continuity of indigenous languages.	Pidginization, grammatical restructuring; creolization, if the pidgin is continued as the mother tongue of a later generation.

explanation for the features in question (see Table 5). See Thomason (2001 [1.2.3]) and Hickey (ed., 2010 [1.2.3]).

**contact with English** In a general sense, every language is in contact with English. But there are certain languages which are in contact with native and stable second-language varieties of English due to the established presence of these languages in a country where they are used alongside English as a primary means of communication. This contact has led to identifiable and focussed varieties. In some cases the contact occurred further back in history and the contact language or languages are no longer spoken widely but the effect on English is still discernible. Such a scenario is generally one of language shift and can be found, for instance, in the United States (Native American languages and English), South Africa (Indian languages and English), Australia (Aboriginal languages and English), New Zealand (Maori and English), Ireland (Irish and English) or Highland/Island Scotland (Scottish Gaelic and English).

Some countries show relatively stable contact between English and a further language, for example Canada (Quebec French and English) or South Africa (Afrikaans and English). Other countries have more recent immigrant populations whose use of English is not a focussed variety separate from the supraregional forms used in the country in question. For instance, the Greeks, Croatians or Lebanese, Chinese or Vietnamese in Australia do not appear to have a native variety of English with a clear profile which is uniquely identified with them. This is true despite the fact that in many countries such recent immigrants do have a second-language variety which is typical of the first generation, that is those people born in the source country, for example Pakistan for the Pakistani population in Great Britain.

Identifiable varieties are usually in contact with each other. For instance, in the Caribbean area (Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, etc.) more standard forms of English are in contact with more vernacular ones on a cline for which one recognizes at least three divisions, *BASILECT*, *MESOLECT* and *ACROLECT* (see relevant definitions). See Table 6.

**Table 6** Major contact scenarios in the anglophone world.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Language(s)</i>	<i>Contact variety</i>
England	Jamaican Creole	British Black Creole
	South Asian languages	British Indian, Pakistani English
	Chinese	British Chinese English
Wales	Welsh	Welsh English
Scotland	Scottish Gaelic	Contact Scottish English
Ireland	Irish	Contact Irish English
Channel Islands	French	Channel Islands English
Gibraltar	Spanish	Gibraltar English
Malta	Maltese	Maltese English
Canada	Quebec French	Quebec English
	Inuktitut	Inuit English
United States	Spanish	Chicano English, New York Latino English, other Hispanic varieties
	French	Cajun English
	German	Amish English
	Yiddish	Yiddish English
West African states	Bantu languages of the area	Cameroon, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Liberian, Sierra Leone English
East African states	Bantu languages of the area	Ugandan, Kenyan, Tanzanian, English
Southern African states	Bantu and Khoisan languages of the area	Namibian, Botswana, Zimbabwean English
		Zambian, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland English
South Africa	Afrikaans	Afrikans English
	Bhojpuri, Tamil	Indian South African English
	Bantu and Khoisan languages of the area	Black South African English
Australia	Aboriginal languages	Aboriginal Australian English
New Zealand	Maori	Maori English
India	Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages	Indian English
Pakistan	Urdu, Panjabi, etc.	Pakistan English
Malaysia	Malay	Malaysian English
Singapore	Chinese, Malay, Tamil	Singlish
Hong Kong	Cantonese, Mandarin	Hong Kong English
The Philippines	Tagalog (and other Austronesian languages)	Taglish

**contact-induced change** A reference to a type of language change which can be conclusively traced to contact with another language. There are not many structures in any variety which can be traced unambiguously to contact, but some are to be found in Irish English, for instance the immediate perfective, for example seen in *Fiona is after eating her dinner* ‘Fiona has just eaten her dinner’. This represents a calque on an Irish structure with *tar éis* ‘after’ followed by a non-finite verb form which indicates that an action has taken place recently. See Hickey (2007b, Chapter 4 [3.3]).

**context** A term referring to the environment in which a sound, word or phrase occurs. The context may determine what elements may be present, in which case one says that there are ‘co-occurrence restrictions’. For instance, /r/ may not occur after /s/ in a syllable in English, that is \*/sri:n/ is not phonotactically permissible; the progressive form cannot occur with stative verbs, for example *We are knowing Spanish* is not well formed in first-language varieties of English.

**context sensitive** A reference to a rule which requires a specific environment to apply, otherwise it is context-free. For instance, the dropping of /j/ in many varieties of English only occurs after alveolars in stressed syllables, for example *news* /nu:z/, *stupid* /stu:pid/ but not *mews* \*/mu:z/ or *few* \*/fu:/.

**continuant** Any sound which is produced without completely blocking off the flow of air, for example the fricatives /s, ʃ, f/ or the sonorants /m, n, ŋ, l, r/. Such sounds contrast with stops which have complete closure of the airstream.

**continuum** A scale on which one can locate varieties ranging from a strongly vernacular to a near-standard form of a language.

**contraction** A process in which two or more words are merged, for example English *do + not > don't* [dəʊnt]). Contractions are features of spoken language which may be later adopted into all styles, in which case the non-contracted forms are irrecoverable.

**contrast** A difference between two linguistic items which can be exploited systematically. The distinction between the two forms arises from the fact that these can occupy the same slot; such forms are thus ‘distinctive’. For instance, /p/ and /b/ contrast in English as minimal pairs such as *pin* /pɪn/ : *bin* /bɪn/ show.

**contrastive stress** The use of stress (heightened pitch, increased loudness and greater length of a syllable, or a combination of these factors) to distinguish words which are otherwise the same, for example '*convert* (noun) and *con'vert* (verb).

**controlled** Refers to a kind of language acquisition in which learners' progress is supervised and evaluated, usually by a teacher. Controlled language acquisition is generally intervallic, that is the learner is only exposed to the new language intermittently, during class instruction, for example. This type of acquisition is also termed ‘guided language acquisition’.

**convergence** A term to indicate that two or more varieties/languages, which have been in contact in history, come to share structural features which then often become indicative of a certain area. The term is also employed when a feature or category may be the result of more than one factor in the history of a language/variety, for example the development of the habitual aspect in the Caribbean which could be due to both its existence in the background languages of Africans taken to the region and in the input varieties of the early English-speaking settlers.

**conversational implicature** In the context of conversation, this is an implication which is deduced by speakers, for example in the response *There's a corner shop at the end of the street* given to a question *Where can we get some milk at this hour?* The term was coined by Herbert Paul Grice (1913–1988) and is connected with his notion of the cooperative principle.

**conversational maxims** A set of principles, outlined by Herbert Paul Grice (1913–1988), which he assumed are the basis for successful conversation. Examples of such maxims are the notions of quantity, quality, relevance, clarity and perspicuity which one can take to apply when speakers are engaged in normal cooperative conversation.

**conversion** The use of an item of one word class in another without any formal change, for example *to breakfast* from *breakfast*. In Singapore English the verb (*to go*) *marketing* / *supermarketing* is used for types of shopping. Conversion is a common feature of analytical languages such as English. Also known as ‘zero derivation’.

**Cook, James (1728–1779)** English naval officer, who claimed Australia for the English crown by landing on the south-east coast in 1770. He also explored large parts of the Pacific Ocean, and died on Hawai‘i in an attempt during his third voyage to find the North-West Passage, an assumed sea passage between the north Atlantic and the north-east Pacific.

**Cook Islands** A largely self-governing country consisting of two separate groups of islands north-east of New Zealand, between Tonga and French Polynesia. The island country maintains an association with New Zealand. The two main languages are MAORI (Polynesian) and English.

**cooperative principle** An unspoken agreement between speakers in conversation to follow the maxims of conversation, to interpret sensibly what is said by one’s interlocutor and in general to abide by the conventions of linguistic interaction in one’s language.

**coordinate** (1) Any clause which is not in a relation of dependence to another clause. (2) A term for those bilingual individuals who are assumed to have different meanings for equivalent words in the two languages they speak.

**copula** A particular verb – *be* in English – which links elements in a sentence, usually in assigning attributes or qualities to nouns, for example *Fergal is a miserable linguist. Fiona is mischievous.*

**copula deletion** A feature of many varieties of English, particularly of pidgins and creoles, where the verb *is* does not occur in copulative sentences. It is also found in African American English, for example *My uncle a teacher in our high school.*

**Cornwall** The south-west peninsula of England which is named after the county at its tip. This is an originally Celtic-speaking region (like Wales) but Cornish died out in the eighteenth century and the attempts to revive it have remained confined to a small number of enthusiasts. In general, the English of the region shows features of the south-west, for example retroflex /r/.

**coronal** Sounds for which the tip or blade of the tongue is moved upwards towards the alveolar ridge or hard palate, for example /t, d, s, ʃ/.

**corpus** Any structured collection of data from a particular language – usually in electronic form – which has been compiled for the purpose of later linguistic analysis. The number of corpora available has increased greatly since the spread of personal computers in the 1980s and 1990s. The advantage of a corpus is that it can offer sufficient attestations of a structure or word to allow linguists to make statistically reliable statements. Equally corpora can be used to disprove

assumptions, for example about when a certain structure appeared, in what type of text, or with what author. A corpus can also be used for style analysis and may in some cases help to determine authorship by looking at recurrent patterns in the syntax or vocabulary of an author.

**corpus linguistics** The use of computer corpora as a tool in linguistic analysis. As opposed to computational linguistics, which uses computers to simulate grammatical models, corpus linguistics uses data in one or more computer corpora to gain attestations for linguistic phenomena intended for analysis. See Meyer (2002 [1.1.4]).

**Corpus of American Soap Operas** A corpus of 100 million words consisting of more than 22,000 transcripts of soap operas from 2001 to 2012. It was compiled and is maintained at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

**Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)** A large-scale corpus of present-day American English, containing some 450 million words from 1990 to the present, consisting of transcripts of unscripted conversation, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts (about 90 million words each). 20 million words are added each year, to allow research on ongoing changes in American English.

**Corpus of Early English Correspondence** A corpus of private letters, chiefly from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was compiled at the University of Helsinki by Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg.

**Corpus of English, International (ICE)** A long-term, large-scale project initiated in the 1990s by Sidney Greenbaum at University College London and intended as a collection of regional and national corpora which would represent standardized varieties of English worldwide. The project is ongoing with some corpora still to be compiled.

**Corpus of English Texts, Helsinki** A corpus of small representative text extracts (over 240) from the entire history of English which was compiled at the University of Helsinki under the supervision of Matti Rissanen and Merja Kytö.

**Corpus of Global Web-Based English** A very large corpus, some 1.9 billion words in size, based on 1.8 million web pages (including blogs) from 20 different English-speaking countries and released in spring 2013. The web-based user interface permits one to view the frequency of any word, phrase or grammatical construction in each of the 20 different countries. It was compiled and is maintained at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. The corpus can be interrogated in a similar fashion to the other corpora by Mark Davies, for example, the Corpus of Contemporary English (COCA) or the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). See ONLINE CORPUS.

**Corpus of Historical American English, The** A corpus of some 400 million words covering a time span from 1810 to 2009 and consisting of documents from the history of English in the United States. It was compiled and is maintained at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

**Corpus of Irish English, A** A corpus of literary documents – poetry, drama, prose – which attest to varieties of Irish English throughout its history compiled by Raymond Hickey.



**Corpus of Learner English, International** A corpus of essays written by intermediate to advanced learners of English with diverse first languages, for example Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish. It was first published in 2002 with an expanded version appearing in 2009. The corpus was compiled at the Université Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium and is an ongoing project.

**Corpus of London Teenage Language, The Bergen** A corpus prepared in the early 1990s which consisted of spoken samples of teenagers' speech from different parts of London. It was compiled by scholars working at the University of Bergen, Norway under the supervision of Anna-Brita Stenström.

**Corpus of Old African American Letters (COAAL)** A corpus consisting of over 1,500 unedited letters by several hundred unschooled writers, stretching from the 1760s to the 1910s, covering more than 15 US states. It is intended to provide new data for the study of the origin and development of African American English. The corpus was compiled at the University of Regensburg from 2007 to 2010. Interestingly neither completive *done* nor habitual *be* are attested in this corpus, supporting the view of Neo-Anglicists that the latter are recent features of African American English.

**Corpus of Spoken American English, The Santa Barbara** This corpus consists of 'naturally occurring spoken interaction from all over the United States'. It also forms the spoken portions of the American component of the INTERNATIONAL CORPUS OF ENGLISH. It was compiled at the University of California at Santa Barbara under the supervision of John W. Du Bois.

**Corpus of Written British Creole** A corpus of written documents in Caribbean creole as used in Britain. It was compiled under the supervision of Mark Sebba at the University of Lancaster during the 1990s.

**correctness** An extra-linguistic notion, usually deriving from institutions in society like a language academy or a major publishing house, which attempts to lay down rules for language use, especially in written form. Notions of correctness show a high degree of arbitrariness and are based on somewhat conservative usage, intended to maintain an unchanging standard in a language. See Milroy and Milroy (1999 [1]).

**correspondence, sound** A relationship between forms in two languages which is justified by more or less regular sound change. For instance, there is a correspondence between non-initial /t/ in English and /s/ in German as in *foot* : *Fuß*, *water* : *Wasser*, *eat* : *essen*.

**Costa Rica** A Spanish-speaking country in Central America between the Caribbean and the Pacific with a population of about 4.5 million. During the nineteenth century Jamaican labourers brought their creole to the Caribbean coast in the province of Limón where it is still found today and used by several tens of thousands of speakers. The label 'Limonese Creole' is found as well as the local name *mekatelyu*, lit. 'make I tell you', that is 'let me tell you'.

**COT-CAUGHT merger** The lack of a phonetic distinction between the vowels in these two words, either in length or quality. Generally, the outcome is a half-long open vowel [ɒ], for example [kɒt] for both *cot* and *caught*. The unrounding and lowering of /ɔ/ is common in US English, especially in the West (see 'Three dialects of English'; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 162–163 [5.1]),



and is general in Canadian English. The phonetic realization varies, however. It is generally a back vowel and with different degrees of rounding: in eastern New England the vowel is clearly rounded and close to [ɔ], while in western Pennsylvania and across Canada it is usually more a low rounded vowel, [ɒ]. In the west, for example California, the realization is unrounded but still back, that is [ɑ]. Traditionally, the COT-CAUGHT merger is a feature of western Pennsylvania (and BOSTON ENGLISH) which had considerable Ulster Scots settlement (Montgomery 2001: 141–142 [5.1.1]), though Lass (1987: 286 [1.5]) notes that the merger is to a back vowel in Lowland Scots/Ulster Scots but to a more central vowel in American English. The unrounding of /ɒ/ is common in the far north of England as well (Trudgill 1990: 19 [2.1]), cf. *lang* for *long*. The COT-CAUGHT merger is regarded as responsible for front vowel lowering by exercising a drag on the TRAP vowel, see CALIFORNIA VOWEL SHIFT and CANADIAN SHIFT.

**countable** Those nouns which can be specified for number, that is used in the plural, possibly with an ordinal number: *many luxurious cars, five good linguists*.

**counterhierarchical diffusion** See DIFFUSION, COUNTERHIERARCHICAL.

**counterurbanization** A term for the movement of inhabitants out of urban areas and into the countryside, usually in search of a different life style. This process can lead to urban forms of language being introduced to rural areas and influencing traditional pronunciations there. See Britain (2012 [1.2.3]).

**Craigie, Sir William (1867–1957)** A Scottish lexicographer born in Dundee and a graduate of St. Andrews and Oxford. In 1897 he joined the staff of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and was later involved in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* and *The Scottish National Dictionary*.

**creaky voice** A type of phonation characterized by a constriction of the larynx compressing the vocal folds which then vibrate at a low, irregular frequency with a slow airflow producing an acoustic effect labelled impressionistically as ‘creaky’. This is an increasingly common manner of articulation among young females across the anglophone world, probably emanating from the United States. Also referred to colloquially as ‘vocal pop’ or ‘vocal fry’ from the apparent similarity with the ‘popping’ sound of something being fried on a hot pan.

**creole** A term used to describe a PIDGIN after it has become the mother tongue of a certain population. This development usually implies that the pidgin has become more complex grammatically and has increased its vocabulary in order to deal with the entire set of situations in which a native language is used. The increased complexity of creoles is attained through the restructuring of material provided by the pidgin as there is normally no other source of input at the time of creolization.

The term ‘creole’ comes from French ‘créole, criole’, in its turn from Spanish ‘criollo’, itself from Portuguese ‘crioulo’ which goes back to an Iberian stem meaning ‘to nurse, breed, bring up’. The present meaning is ‘native to a locality or country’. Originally, it was used (seventeenth century) to refer to Africans born in Brazil, later a slave born in the colonies. The term then came to refer to the customs and language of those in the colonies and later to any language derived from a pidgin based on a European language, typically English, French, Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch. Now the term refers to any language of this type, irrespective of what the input language has been.

In the scholarly literature there are many definitions of creoles; the following are three main types. (1) *External definition* By this is meant that factors outside a language determine whether it can be labelled a creole or not. External definitions are favoured by some scholars, such as John Holm, who, when examining the varieties of English in the Caribbean, stated: ‘no particular set of syntactic features alone will identify a language as a creole without reference to its sociolinguistic history’ (Holm 1994: 372 [5.3]). (2) *Acquisitional definition* This sees a creole as the language of a generation which developed it from a considerably reduced and imperfectly acquired form of a (colonial) lexifier language. This definition stresses the break with the native language(s) of previous generations. (3) *Structural definition* According to this definition a creole is a language which has undergone considerable restructuring with respect to the lexifier language and probably with regard to the substrate native language(s) as well, if it/they provided input (Baker and Huber 2002 [9]). Restructuring involves a movement towards analytical type and a simplification of morphology (independent morphemes are used for bound morphemes in the grammar of the lexifier language; the latter may be present but afunctional). Restructured languages generally show SVO word order and pre-specification in dyads, that is adjective+noun and genitive+noun. In verb phrases markers for tense and aspect generally precede the verb in question. In fact basilectal varieties of creole English have no verbal inflections. See CREOLE VERB, FORMS AND FUNCTIONS.

**creole continuum** A reference to the scale on which varieties of creoles can be identified with basilects at one end and more standard forms of language at the other. Such continua are often found in ex-colonies of European countries, for example Jamaica where the native creole is spoken as a vernacular but where standard Jamaican English is used in public settings. The varieties most distant from the more standard forms may in time die out due to the process of DECREOLIZATION.

**creole verb, forms and functions** The unmarked verb refers to whatever time is in focus which is either clear from the context or specified at the outset of the discourse. If stative verbs are not marked then this usually refers to the simple present tense in English, *I know the country, I have two brothers*. If non-stative verbs (referring to an action of some sort) are unmarked then they usually correspond to the past tense in English: *Wi kom down hiir* ‘we came down here’. Anterior tense markers, for example *ben* in Jamaican Creole, indicate that the action of the verb they qualify took place before the time in focus, that is the time reference of the unmarked verb (this can be the equivalent of the past or past perfect in English). Decreolizing varieties may abandon the earlier marker *been* and use *did*, *had* or *was* as in more standard forms of English, depending on the situation. Progressive aspect markers are found for the progressive of English, for example *de* in Jamaican Creole, *Im de sing* ‘He is singing’. Habitual aspect markers are often *da* or *doz*. Completive aspect markers often derive historically from the past participle of *do*, for example Jamaican Creole *don*. The infinitive complementizer is often historically derived from *for* (probably from the earlier structure with *for to*+infinitive), for example *fo*, *fu*, *fi*: *A fried fo guo tek di tingz* ‘I’m afraid go take the things’. Where *fo* has become stigmatized it may be replaced by *to* or simply omitted: *Ai niid tes mai ai* ‘I need to have my eyes tested’ (Holm 1994 [5.3], 2000 [9]).

**creoles, English lexifier** These can be subdivided into two main groups: (1) Atlantic and (2) Pacific. The Atlantic group consists of varieties in West Africa on the east, and the (anglophone) Caribbean in the west. The Pacific group consists of a cluster around the south-west of the ocean, for example in Papua New Guinea where the creole TOK PISIN arose and became officially recognized in that country. Other creoles of the area are found on the Solomon Islands (PIJIN) and on Vanuatu (BISLAMA), the latter having been in contact with French in its history. The north centre of the

Pacific is occupied by the HAWAII archipelago on which a plantation creole arose in the nineteenth century, but which has lost ground to more standard forms of American English.

**creolization** A process whereby the children of pidgin speakers only have a reduced code as their linguistic input and hence remould the pidgin so that it can function as their native language. Implied here is that the input pidgin is expanded to fulfil all functions of a natural language: syntax and vocabulary are greatly extended by restructuring of the input. The external circumstances for creolization typically obtained on plantations in the early colonial period when slaves and their families were kept in relative isolation. This is true of the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some linguists assume that creolization involves the activation of innate linguistic knowledge and that this provides structures not available in the input pidgins, or at least explains the similarities in default values for many linguistic parameters such as word order or syllable form. The latter fact is often assumed to account for the structural similarity between creoles in the Atlantic and Pacific areas which have not been in contact with each other in history.

**creolization, abrupt** A term which has been used to refer to a situation in which an ‘emerging contact language at once becomes the primary language of the community and is learned as a first language ... by any children born in the new multilingual community. That contact language therefore expands rapidly into a creole rather than stabilizing as a functionally and linguistically restricted pidgin’ (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 150 [1.5]).

**critical period** A period in early childhood in which language acquisition is most effective (roughly the first six or seven years). If exposure to a language begins considerably later then acquisition rarely results in native-like competence. The watershed for successful natural language acquisition appears to be puberty after which it is nearly always incomplete.

**Crown Dependencies** Self-governing possessions of the United Kingdom. There are two of these, the CHANNEL ISLANDS and the ISLE OF MAN.

**Cumbria** A region in the north-west of England on the border with Scotland and on the Irish Sea coast; the largest city is Carlisle, with a population of approximately 100,000. Dialectally it belongs to the north and shows features of supraregional speech of this area, for example /ʊ/ in the STRUT lexical set and /a/ in the BATH lexical set, and has apparently experienced dialect levelling, removing features such as early TH-fronting. It does not share features of the Scottish Borders.

**CURE lexical set** A set of words which have /ʊ/ followed by historic /r/ which was replaced by /ə/ with those varieties, mainly in southern England and the Southern Hemisphere, which became NON-RHOTIC. For rhotic varieties, such as Canadian English and most varieties of American English, the realization is [kjʊɹ]~[kjʊɾ], depending on the realization of /r/. In non-rhotic varieties pronunciations vary from [kjʊə] through [kjo:] to [kjə:] (Wells 1982: 163 [1]), the latter leading to the POOR-POUR MERGER.

**curvilinear principle** The notion that change in language does not emanate from the lower or upper ends of the social hierarchy but rather from the middle, hence the reference to a curve in this term. In the words of Labov: ‘Linguistic change from below originates in a central social group, located in the interior of the socioeconomic hierarchy’ (Labov 2001: 188 [1.2]). See CHARLESTON.

# D

**da Gama, Vasco (c.1469–1524)** Portuguese explorer who was the first to round the Cape of Good Hope and discovered the sea route to India.

**Da Kine Talk** See HAWAIIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH.

**DANCE-retraction** A reference to the realization of /a/ before a cluster of nasal + /t/ or /s/. This environment triggered lengthening and retraction in south-east English English in the late modern period, but not necessarily elsewhere, for example *grant* [gra:nt], *dance* [da:ns]. The retraction did not apply to words ending in /-nd/, for example *and*, *bland*, *grand*, *land*, *sand*.

**dark l** An *l*-sound spoken with secondary velarization which is realized by lowering the body of the tongue and raising the back towards the velum. Such a sound is frequently found in syllable-final position, for instance in RP, cf. *milk* [mɪɫk]. Historically, this sound occurred in English and French and was vocalized (lost its character as a consonant) as attested by words like *chalk*, *walk* or French *faute* ‘fault’ (ultimately from Latin *fallitus*, the *l* in this word in English is not original but was ‘restored’ in the early modern period). In COCKNEY English it is normal for the dark *l* to be vocalized fully to a [ʊ] sound, cf. *milk* [mɪʊk]. See Wells (1982 [1]).

**data-driven analysis** An approach to linguistic analysis in which data is examined in order to make valid statements about language structure. This is the approach in sociolinguistics and is often contrasted with formal analyses of language which depend on the intuitions of individual speakers (frequently the linguists themselves) and not on a body of independent data.

**dative** A morphological case in synthetic languages, such as Russian, German or Latin, which signals the indirect object of a verb. Semantically, the dative often indicates the beneficiary of an action. In Modern English the equivalent is a prepositional object or a non-prepositional,

indirect object which is recognized by its position before the direct object of the verbal phrase, that is *She gave the new book to him*; *She gave him the new book*.

**dative of (dis)advantage** See PERSONAL 'DATIVE'.

**declarative** A type of sentence which makes a positive statement, for example *Fiona is abroad right now*, rather than negating a statement or asking a question. Taken as the basic type of sentence.

**declension** A term which refers to the inflections of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, that is of nouns and the elements which can substitute or qualify them. The term 'declension' can also be used for classes of nouns which conform to a certain paradigm. It is the equivalent with nouns of the term 'CONJUGATION' with verbs.

**decolonization** An historical process by which newly independent countries, mostly in the Caribbean, Africa and Asia have sought to free themselves of their colonial past and establish their own identity. Many creative writers from Africa have concerned themselves with this process and the scholarly movement involved with analysing their works is known as post-colonial studies. Some of the most notable post-colonial African writers are Chinua Achebe (1930–2013), a Nigerian novelist whose first novel, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), is among the key works of African post-colonial literature; Wole Soyinka (1934– ), Nigerian dramatist and Nobel-prize winner (1986) as well as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1938– ), Kenyan novelist and playwright.

**decreolization** The process by which a creole loses its characteristic features and substitutes these by those from a standard language it is in contact with (usually, but not necessarily, its LEXIFIER LANGUAGE). This is one view of how African American English developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, losing many of those features which are viewed as prototypical of a CREOLE.

**default** The value which a parameter will have if no extraneous factors have influenced it. For instance, typologists assume that the default value for word order is SVO. This is the most common word order in the world's languages, it consists of a sequence mentioning the actor, the action and the person or thing affected by the action. Furthermore, in 'new' languages like creoles, SVO is the dominant and usually the only word order available. Other word orders such as SOV or VSO can arise historically due to shifts in the syntax of a language, for instance by the movements of elements to the front or rear of a sentence.

**deficit theory** A view, proposed by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein, that working-class children in Western industrialized societies are disadvantaged in society because their native variety of a language, that is that which they learn in the home, is not the standard, as opposed to the position of the middle and upper classes.

**definite** A property of nouns when their referent is a specific entity as in *The car my brother bought*. This contrasts with indefiniteness as in *A car was stolen last night*. The linguistic signalling of these properties varies across languages; English has both a definite and indefinite article.

**definite article** A grammatical word which marks a following noun for definiteness. Not every language has such an element, though it is more common for the indefinite article to be missing. Languages furthermore vary according to whether they demand the definite article when nouns are used generically. This can be a difference between varieties, *see* ARTICLE, USE OF.

**definite article reduction (DAR)** A feature of some northern varieties of English (Jones 2002 [2.10]) in which the schwa in *the* /ðə/ is lost leaving either (i) the initial inter-dental fricative, (ii) a glottalized fricative or (iii) a glottal stop. There is historical evidence that this was also typical of West Country accents, for example Shakespeare displays the feature abundantly. It is indicated in writing as *th'* or *t'*.

**Defoe, Daniel (1659/1661–1731)** English writer and journalist best known today as the author of the novel *Robinson Crusoe*. His significance for language studies lies in his comprehensive work *A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–1727) in which he comments on the speech of different regions of Britain while describing their local characteristics.

**degree** A relational specification which is found with adjectives and adverbs. There are three degrees: (1) positive as in *small*, (2) comparative as in *smaller* and (3) superlative as in *smallest*.

**deictic pronouns** Elements in a language which have a 'pointing' function expressing distance from the speaker, for example *This chair should be put over there beside that one*. These two types of deixis are termed 'proximal' and 'distal' respectively. Some conservative varieties, such as Scottish English, have retained the deictic pronoun *yonder* expressing a greater degree of distance than *that*, for example *Can you see the house on yonder hill?* There is also a metaphorical usage of deictic pronouns to express importance in a discourse, for example *This matter must be dealt with immediately, that one can wait until next week*, where distance correlates with relevance. Such deictic pronouns can be associated with definiteness, for example *I am not interested in this book*, in which case they represent an alternative to the definite article.

**Delaware Jargon** A seventeenth-century pidgin developed by speakers of Algonquian languages in Delaware in their contacts with the Dutch involved in the fur trade in what was then New Netherland.

**deletion** (1) The omission of a sound or sounds under certain circumstances. In quick speech clusters of more than two consonants tend to have one or more deleted, for example *months* [mans] for [manθs]. (2) The omission of an element in a sentence as in *This is the man (who) she met yesterday*.

**deletion, copula** This is a prominent feature of African American English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 214–216 [5.1]) and is found elsewhere in the anglophone worlds such as the south-east of Ireland (Hickey 2007b, Chapter 4 [3.3]). It may apply to the verb *be* in different functions: *She a farmer's daughter, He working hard these days*. On deletion in South African Indian English, *see* Mesthrie (1996: 92–93 [6.3.1.5]).

**demonstrative pronoun** *See* DEICTIC PRONOUNS.

**demonstratives, personal pronouns as** In traditional dialects the third person plural, personal pronoun can be used as a demonstrative pronoun, for example *Them boys out on the street, Them shoes are too big for me*. The ubiquity of this usage (Trudgill 1990: 79 [2.1]; Wakelin 1984: 82 [2.1]) greatly reduces its value as a diagnostic. Where it is seen as a stereotypical feature, for example in Appalachia, it has receded (Hazen, Hamilton and Vacovsky 2011 [1.6]).

**dental** A place of articulation characterized by the tip of the tongue being held against the back of the upper teeth, for instance in the pronunciation of /t, d/ in Italian, Swedish, etc. It is indicated by a subscript diacritic representing a tooth, that is [t̪, d̪]. This type of articulation is found in many varieties which do not have the inter-dental fricatives /θ, ð/ but stops instead. The stops can be dental or alveolar according to variety and/or degree of vernacularity. See TH-STOPPING.

**dental suffix** An ending found in Germanic languages among so-called ‘weak’ verbs, that is those which do not form the past tense by changing the root vowel. The sounds which represent this suffix are usually a voiced [d] or voiceless alveolar stop [t] (and not dental stops, despite the traditional label) as in *pave* : *paved* [peɪvd] and *staff* : *staffed* [sta:ft] respectively.

**dental–alveolar distinction** The distinction between a dental and an alveolar point of articulation for CORONAL stops (both voiceless and voiced). In non-vernacular Irish English the initial sounds in THIN and TIN are distinguished by point of articulation and not manner, for example the words are pronounced as [t̪ɪn] and [tɪn] respectively.

**deontic modals** Modals which are used to express obligation, such as *must, have to, got to*, for example *You must leave now, You have to pay, You’ve got to get out of here*. The verb *must* can also be used to express epistemic modality, that is that something is necessarily the case as in *They must speak Italian if they come from Rome*.

**deportation** A system of forced emigration of convicts or people regarded as politically undesirable to an overseas destination. The early days of settlement in Australia (in the late eighteenth century) was characterized by deportation but soon afterwards free settlers also arrived in the colony. In the mid seventeenth century many Irish and people from the regions of Britain were deported to the Caribbean, for example to Barbados.

**Derry English** Forms of English as spoken in the city of Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland. Derry English partakes in general features of Ulster English, such as [ʊ] in the GOOSE lexical set and the intonational patterns typical of the region. It has also undergone specific developments of its own. According to McCafferty (2001 [3.3.1]) there is an ethnic division in Derry with Protestants more readily accepting incoming variants from east Ulster (the area of Belfast), such as the breaking of the FACE vowel, that is *face* [fɪəs], and the centralization of the SQUARE vowel, that is *square* [skwə:]. A prominent feature in the speech of Catholics is the use of a lateral for word-internal [ð], for example *other* [ˈlɪðə].

**descriptive** A term referring to presentations and analyses of language which are not evaluative and do not attempt to prescribe usage. See PRESCRIPTIVE.



**deterioration** Any alteration in the meaning of a word which leads to it being assessed negatively by speakers, for example *villain* originally meant ‘rustic, inhabitant of a village’ but came to mean ‘scoundrel’. This development contrasts with *AMELIORATION*, an improvement in meaning.

**determiner** A linguistic item, such as an article, a pronoun or a numeral, which co-occurs with a noun and in some way qualifies – or determines – the noun. This is a cover term for articles, demonstrative and possessive pronouns.

**Detroit English** English as spoken in Detroit, the largest city in Michigan with a metropolitan population of over 4 million. Renowned as a centre of the automobile industry, cf. its nicknames *Motor City* / *Motown*. The inner city has a large African American population which speaks urban vernacular varieties of AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH and has declined in size in recent decades from the peak in the 1950s and 1960s. See Wolfram (1969 [5.1.10]) and Eckert (1989 [1.1.10]), the latter an influential study of peer groups and the language of adolescents in a Detroit high school. As a major city of the Inland North, Detroit shows the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT.

**devoiced** Refers to sounds which are normally pronounced with voice but where this is lacking, for example with /r/ in syllable-final position in Scottish English and Scots, *poor* [pʊ:r̥].

**devoicing, final** The voiceless articulation of voiced obstruents in word- or syllable-final position. This is found occasionally in contemporary varieties of English, for example in the central north of England, seen in the local pronunciation of the city of Bradford as [bratfəd] (Trudgill 1990: 67–68 [2.1]). It does not appear to be characteristic of overseas English with the exception of Afrikaans English where it is a transfer phenomenon from the pronunciation of Afrikaans (Watermeyer 1996 [6.3.1.2]).

**DH to L shift** The realization of intervocalic /ð/ as [l] in DERRY ENGLISH, for example *other* ['lʌr] (McCafferty 2001 [3.3.1]).

**DH to R shift** The realization of intervocalic /ð/ as [r] in vernacular Glasgow speech, for example *brother* [brʌrər] (Stuart-Smith 2008: 63 [3.1]).

**DH-D-variation** The lexical distribution of /ð/ and /d/ is fixed in present-day English but historically there is much fluctuation in the environment of /r/ (Hickey 1987 [1.5]). This variation is well known from the early modern period and Shakespeare has many variant spellings, for example *murther*, *burthen*. The fluctuation would seem to be determined by the dentalization of /d/ before /r/, that is [d̪r], and then the switch to a homorganic fricative [ð]. This account is borne out by the dentalization of /d/ before /r/ which is still found widely in the north of Ireland and dialectally conservative areas of England such as Cumbria.

**diachronic** A reference to language viewed over time; this contrasts with ‘synchronic’ which refers to a point in time. This is one of the major structural distinctions introduced by Ferdinand de SAUSSURE and which is used to characterize types of linguistic investigation.



**diacritic** An additional symbol which is added to a character of the Latin alphabet to indicate a sound not covered by the unqualified Latin letters, for example *ñ* [ɲ] in Spanish, *ą* [ã] in Polish or *č* [tʃ] in Czech. In some cases a diacritic can indicate the stressed vowel in a word, as in Spanish, e.g. *corazón*, ‘heart’.

**diacresis** A sign – two dots – sometimes written over a vowel to indicate that it is pronounced, for example *naïve* [nai:v], not [neiv], or proper names like the surname *Brontë*.

**dialect** A term referring to a variety of a language spoken in a certain place, that is a geographically distinct variety of a language. There are urban and rural dialects. The boundaries between dialects are always gradual. Because ‘dialect’ does not necessarily refer to the social aspects of language, there is also the term **SOCIOLECTS**. Dialects are generally different from the standard variety of a language in a particular country and thus are often stigmatized. But in fact the standard is usually a dialect which by historical circumstance, for example by being spoken in the capital city, became the standard. Standards are codified orthographically and because of their official function have relatively large vocabularies but structurally they are on a par with dialects.

**dialect, awareness of and attitudes to** An awareness of dialect differences in England goes back at least to the Middle Ages: Geoffrey Chaucer used Northern English for the purpose of character portrayal in *The Reeve’s Tale* (Wales 2006: 75 [2.10]). The dichotomy between north and south is referred to by later authors on language, notably George Puttenham (d. 1590) who, in his *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), states his preference for ‘our Southerne English’ which is the ‘usual speech at court and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles and not much aboue’ (Mugglestone 2007 [1995]: 9 [1]). There was also an awareness of the kinds of English spoken in the Celtic regions: Shakespeare in the ‘Four Nations Scene’ in *Henry V* characterizes the speech of English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish characters.

There would seem to have been two attitudes to dialects in the early modern period. One was neutral and the other decidedly in favour of southern speech. John Hart (d. 1574) spoke of ‘the flower of the English tongue’, referring to the language of the court in London. The more neutral attitude is seen in dictionary entries of the time, for example William Bullokar (1616): ‘So every country hath commonly in divers parts thereof some difference of language, which is called the Dialect of that place.’ This view is echoed later by Thomas Blount (1656): ‘Dialect. is a manner of speech peculiar to some part of a Country or people, and differing from the manner used by other parts or people, yet all using the same Radical Language.’ But the great lexicographers of the eighteenth century – Samuel Johnson, Thomas Sheridan, John Walker – showed no interest in regional variation which meant that dialects were excluded from the emerging ideology of a standard in English.

**dialect bleaching** A reduction of the salient features of a dialect which may in time lead to endangered varieties. See **VARIETIES, ENDANGERED**.

**dialect continuum** A continuous geographical region in which the transition from one dialect to the next is gradual, for instance the Romance dialects spoken on the northern coast of the Mediterranean from Spain through the south of France to Italy. An anglophone instance would be the dialects spoken between the north and the south of England.

**dialect death** See VARIETIES, ENDANGERED.

**dialect dictionaries** The gathering of dialect words and their publication as lists has a long tradition in England, the most significant early work being John RAY's *A Collection of English Words not Generally Used* (1674). In the United States this practice was continued, cf. John Pickering *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America* (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1816). Extracting dialect words from general dictionaries was also done, cf. W. E. A. Axon's *English Dialect Words in the Eighteenth Century as Shown in the Universal Etymological Dictionary of Nathaniel Bailey* (London, 1883). The major modern treatment of dialects is Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, 5 vols (London: Henry Frowde, 1898–1905). Much dialect information can be found in survey work such as A. J. Ellis' *On Early English Pronunciation* (London, 1868–1889). The major dialect study in England in the twentieth century was the *SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS* which contains much lexical material, see Orton *et al.* (1962–1971 [2.1]) and Orton and Wright (1974 [2.1]).

**dialect geography** Dialect geography, also called dialectology, seeks to provide an empirical basis for statements about varieties occurring in a certain area. To do this, dialectologists in the past have used questionnaires, usually for lexical material. An advantage is that the results are comparable as the structure of questionnaires is the same in each survey. Dialect data can be collected directly, for example 'What do you call a cup?' or indirectly, for example 'What is this?' holding up a cup or by asking questions like 'You sweeten tea with ...?'. The major criticism of modern sociolinguistics is that dialect geography tended to focus on older male rural populations and hence not be representative of the societies in which these populations were found. See NORM.

**dialect grammars** Apart from DIALECT DICTIONARIES they are grammatical overviews as well. The most important for the dialects of English is Wright (1905) which arose in the context of Joseph WRIGHT's work on his five-volume dictionary.

**dialect levelling** A process whereby the features which separate different dialects are reduced, rendering the dialects in contact more similar. This is assumed to be triggered by ACCOMMODATION.

**dialectology and general linguistics** Dialect geography originated on the basis of the Neogrammarian hypothesis that sound change was regular. The implication is that if a sound change takes place, it will take place in all cases which have the sound in question, or at least in such cases in which the sound occurs in a particular environment, that is sound change is rule-governed and exceptionless. In his studies, the early dialectologist Georg WENKER sought evidence for this, for example the change of word-initial /t/ (as in English *tide*) to /ts/ in German (as in *Zeit* 'time'). Although the claims concerning the rules of sound change are substantially correct, dialect situations are more complex and reveal that sound changes are not always exceptionless. Wenker, for instance, investigated a change of medieval German /u:/ to modern /au/ and found that it was not present in all areas where it could have taken place. In the mid twentieth century attempts were made, for instance by Brian Newton investigating Greek dialects (see Newton 1976 [1.1.2]), to show that the assumptions of generative linguistics could help explain the relatedness of dialects of the same language. This strand of research was not very fruitful, however, and was discontinued.

**dialects, patterns among** The larger of the former colonies – United States, Canada, Australia and to a more limited extent South Africa – experienced internal migration after the transportation of English. Communication networks were important for the spread of English at new locations. With later immigration to the United States and Canada the establishment of railway connections facilitated the push westwards of European immigrants in both countries. The economic situation of former colonies is also significant for dialect patterning at new locations. For instance, the fishing industry has been, up until the twentieth century, responsible for the maintenance of remote conservative communities, again in Canada (Newfoundland) and in the United States (in areas like the Outer Banks in North Carolina). Migration within countries for economic reasons has in many cases led to a new distribution of dialects as with the movement of African Americans into the industrial centres in the north of the United States (Anderson 2008 [5.1.10]; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 115 [5.1]). Internal migration typically results in a shift from largely rural dialects to urban dialects as in the case just mentioned. It can also lead to anomalous distributions as with a dialect apex, a pocket area such as the Hoosier Apex of southern speech in lower Indiana and Illinois (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 110 [5.1]; Carver 1987: 174 [5.1.2]), in this case reflecting original settlement.

**dialects, popular means for describing** The popular terms used to describe salient features of dialects are generally impressionistic and what they mean linguistically is not always certain, for example a ‘flat’ accent. Others can be understood, for example ‘dropping one’s *g*’ which means using an alveolar nasal rather than a velar one, as in *mornin*’ [mɔ:rnɪn] for *morn-ing* [mɔ:rnɪŋ] (the ‘*g*’ refers to the absence of this letter when representing the alveolar nasal in writing). The label ‘drawl’ is used when long vowels have overlength and short vowels are diphthongized (as in rural Southern American English). The term ‘twang’ generally means that a vowel is nasalized, for example /æ/ before a nasal in many forms of American English.

**dialects, study of** The systematic study of dialects began in the latter half of the nineteenth century, although there is a long history of observation of dialect differences prior to this time. In France, for example, the primary dialect division between the north and the south was characterized as early as 1284 by the poet Bernat d’Auriac. Here the forms of the keyword ‘yes’ are essential and have even resulted in the names of two large parts of France, Languedoc and Languedocil, the former referring to the region south of the Loire, the latter to that north of the Loire (which later developed into modern French). In England, John Trevisa described a dialect continuum from north to south in 1387, and this has been supported by the studies that began more than five centuries after he wrote. The first attempts at systematic description resulted from the advances in language studies made at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

**dialects and languages** One way of characterizing ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ is to regard a language as a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. Mutual intelligibility is, however, not always a successful criterion for grouping dialects into languages, for example when deciding whether basilectal Scots is a dialect of English or indeed a language. Furthermore, cases like Norwegian and Swedish are for political reasons usually considered different languages but speakers of these languages can generally understand each other and communicate successfully. In addition, mutual intelligibility may not be equal in both directions. For instance, Danes generally understand Norwegians and Swedes better than the latter understand Danes.

**diaspora [daɪ'æspərə] variety** A variety which has become separated from the main geographical concentration of its speakers. There are instances of this with the African American communities formerly on Samaná peninsula (Dominican Republic) and in Nova Scotia (Canada). Studying the language of such groups can often show what features were typical of the main group before the diaspora set in, assuming that the diaspora community has lived in relative isolation (Poplack 2000a: 4–10 [5.1.10]; Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001: 10–38, 39–68 [5.1.10.4]). Another case is the Americana settlement near São Paulo in Brazil which consists of African Americans who left the southern United States in the wake of the American Civil War (Montgomery and Melo 1990: 195 [5.1.10.4]). Certain features which are regarded as prototypical of present-day southern United States speech, such as diphthong flattening in the PRICE lexical set, are not found here. This suggests that it is a fairly recent phenomenon, post-dating the movement of African Americans to Brazil. The return to West Africa by African Americans in the newly founded state of LIBERIA in the nineteenth century has been investigated by John Singler along with the development of African American English after this displacement from the core area in the southern United States (Singler 1989, 1991a, 1991b [6.1.3]). Dialect features can also offer information about migration routes within a country. In the movement of African Americans from the south to the north in the United States there were two basic streams, one which involved African Americans from North and South Carolina moving up along the coast to Washington DC, Philadelphia, New York and one which involved those who took a Midwestern route up to St Louis, Chicago, Detroit. It has been noted (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 115 [5.1]) that the latter group are less likely to show the shift of [ð] to [v], as in *brother* [-v-], *smooth* [-v], than are their counterparts at eastern seaboard locations.

**diastatic** A term referring to variation between social groups.

**diatopic** A term referring to variation on a geographical level.

**dictionaries, early** Robert Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* (1604) is normally considered the earliest monolingual dictionary, as it is the first one to mention this term explicitly on its title page: 'A Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true writing, and understanding of hard usuall English wordes...'. In compiling his dictionary, Cawdrey drew to a large extent on previous Latin–English dictionaries such as Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565) and Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587). John Bullokar's *English Expositor* (1616) quickly followed suit, thus establishing a tradition of hard word dictionaries. In comparison to Cawdrey, Bullokar included more words and provided more detailed explanations of his entries. Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionarie* (1623) was the next major work; other authors were soon to follow and produced further 'hard word' dictionaries such as Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656). Apart from dedicated dictionaries there are also grammars with lists of 'hard words'. For instance, Edmund Coote's *The English Schoole-Maister* (1596) – an early grammar of the English language – contains a list of such hard words, which seems to have inspired Cawdrey in the preparation of his dictionary. General dictionaries before Samuel JOHNSON were produced by a variety of authors, for example Edward Philips' *New World of English Words* (1658), Edward Cocker's *English Dictionary* (1704) and Nathaniel BAILEY's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721; 1727) and his *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730).

**dictionaries, pronouncing** From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards there has been a steady flow of prescriptive guides to the pronunciation of English. Both Thomas Sheridan and John Walker produced such guides; Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* (1791) went through over 100 editions and was in print until 1904. Daniel JONES continued this tradition with his *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1917) which was in print throughout the twentieth century. The present version is the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (first edition 1990; third edition 2008) by J. C. Wells [2.2].

**dictionary** A reference work which offers varied information – usually arranged in alphabetical order – about words in a language, such as their spelling, pronunciation, meaning and possibly historical origins (etymology), additional shades of meaning, typical combinations (collocations) and information concerning style, for example whether a word is colloquial, slang or vulgar. Many dictionaries also offer a phonetic transcription of the words they contain.

*Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* A four-volume work edited by William Craigie and James R. Hulbert and published between 1938 and 1944; it was reprinted in 1968 by the University of Chicago Press.

*Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)* A five-volume work which gives complete coverage of regional vocabulary in the United States. It was compiled under the supervision of Fred Cassidy and Joan Houston Hall at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and published between 1985 and 2012 by Harvard University Press.

*Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* A major lexicographical work compiled under the supervision of Walter Avis (1919–1979) and published in Toronto in 1967 (there is an online version accessible at <http://dchp.ca/DCHP-1/>). In 2006 a comprehensive revision was initiated at the University of British Columbia as the project DCHP-2. This new version is projected for online access in 2014 under <http://dchp.ca/DCHP-2/>.

*Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* A major dictionary which evolved out of the Caribbean Lexicographical Project, established in 1971 and based at the University of West Indies. Its goal was to document Caribbean Standard English while recording vocabulary common in more informal varieties across the anglophone Caribbean including forms of Creole. See Allsopp (1996) and the discussion in Devonish & Thomas (1996).

*Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant and Vulgar Words, A* An anonymous work published in 1860 by a 'London Antiquary' with a history of cant and a glossary of Cockney rhyming slang and of back slang.

*Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford* A standard work of reference on notable figures from British history, science and culture published from 1885 onwards. The updated *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* was published in 2004 in 60 volumes and online. It contains biographical information on linguists and scholars who worked on language.

***Dictionary of New Zealandisms on Historical Principles*** The main lexicographical source for New Zealand English, compiled under the supervision of Harold William Orsman (1928–2002) and published in 1998 by Oxford University Press.

***Dictionary of Newfoundland English*** A comprehensive dictionary of dialect vocabulary in Newfoundland, Canada. It was compiled by G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin and J. D. A. Widdowson and published in 1982. A second edition appeared in 1990 with the University of Toronto Press. In 1998–1999, an online version appeared at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary>.

***Dictionary of South African English*** The main dictionary of English in South Africa with the subtitle ‘A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles’. Compiled under the supervision of Penny Silva at Rhodes University, Grahamstown and published by Oxford University Press in 1996.

***Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST)*** A dictionary of the documents of Scots from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Its main editor was William CRAIGIE and the 12 volumes were published by Oxford University Press between 1937 and 2002. See *SCOTTISH NATIONAL DICTIONARY*.

***Dictionary of the Scots Language*** An electronic resource at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/> which combines the *DICTIONARY OF THE OLDER SCOTTISH TONGUE* and the *SCOTTISH NATIONAL DICTIONARY* along with supplementary material (to 2005) to provide a comprehensive online service covering the entire history of Scots.

**difference versus dominance** A much-discussed dichotomy in early gender studies which saw the dissimilarities in language use by men and women as due (i) to basic differences in their natures or (ii) to the traditional dominance of males over females.

**diffusion, cascade model of** Diffusion of language change which takes place by going from one urban centre to another without affecting the intervening countryside. An instance would be the spread of TH-FRONTING to urban centres around England which are far from London without the rural areas between being affected. The question of size seems to be an important factor with larger cities adopting change before smaller ones. See Britain (2012 [1.1.2]).

**diffusion, counterhierarchical** Diffusion of language change which involves the spread of features from a rural to an urban setting. It is labelled ‘counterhierarchical’ because this is the opposite of what usually happens. There are a few cases such as the spread of rural *fixin’ to* into urban areas of Oklahoma, see Britain (2012 [1.1.2]).

**diglossia** A linguistic situation in which there is a division between two languages/varieties such that one variety (the so-called H variety) is used in public life, in the media, in schools and universities, and another variety (the so-called L variety) is used in the domestic sphere and among acquaintances. Examples of diglossic situations are found in Switzerland (Hochdeutsch and Schwyzerdütsch), in various Arabian countries (Classical Arabic and local Arabic vernaculars), Paraguay (Spanish and Guaraní, a native American language). The L- and H-varieties need not be forms of one language though this is normally the case. Diglossia can also involve creole varieties and more standard forms of English, for instance, in the Caribbean (Devonish & Thomas 2012 [5.3]).



**diphthong** A vowel which is articulated with a change in tongue position between the beginning and end, for example /ai/ in *sigh* /sai/ or /au/ in *sow* /sau/. Historically, diphthongs tend to develop from long vowels.

**diphthong, centring** A diphthong whose second element is articulated in the central area of the mouth or at least towards the centre, for example [iə] or [uə] in *pier* and *poor* respectively (RP pronunciation).

**diphthong, rising** A diphthong whose second element is articulated at a higher position than the first, for example [eɪ] as in *came* [keɪm], [əʊ] as in *coat* [kəʊt] or [ɔɪ] as in *coil* [kɔɪ] (RP pronunciation). Also called a closing diphthong.

**diphthong flattening** See /AI/ AND /AU/, REALIZATION OF.

**diphthongization** A historical process whereby a monophthong (a vowel which is articulated without moving the tongue noticeably) develops into a diphthong (where such a movement is audible). The process is initially imperceptible but becomes more and more obvious, the new vowel gaining phonological status in time as when early Middle English /i:/, as in *tide*, became early Modern English /ai/ through diphthongization.

**direct object** An item in a sentence which indicates the object or individual immediately affected by, or most closely associated with the action of the verb, for example *He bought the book* (*without looking at it*); *She saw the boy* (*in the shop*).

**discontinuous** Any linguistic unit which has been split by the insertion of another, for example a main clause with an embedded non-restrictive relative clause, cf. *Her husband, whose name I always forget, rang this morning.*

**discourse** Any section of speech which consists of more than a sentence. The equivalent in written language is the text.

**discourse analysis** The investigation of the structure and patterning of discourse (human speech). It contrasts explicitly with analyses of written language.

**discourse markers** Words which often introduce a sentence and signal to the hearer whether the sentence which follows is in agreement with or in contradiction to what preceded in the discourse, for example *Well, we have to cut back our expenses. Sure, the idea is basically alright. Quite, I think we all support the plan.*

**discrete** A characteristic of human language where there is no continuous transition from one unit to another, for example /p/ and /b/ are separate, discrete sounds and speakers generally pronounce one or the other but not something intermediate between the two.

**dislocation, left / right** The result of a movement of one or more constituents to a position outside a clause, either to the left or right. This often happens for the purpose of highlighting, for example *They have gone to Spain, my two brothers.* (right dislocation), *The house I used to live in, it burned down last year.* (left dislocation).

**dissimilation** A change in the values of sounds by which they become less like each other, for example Old English *purple* from Latin *purpura* where the second /r/ dissimilated to /l/.

**dissociation** A type of observable linguistic behaviour, generally with non-vernacular speakers who attempt to make their speech different from that of the vernacular of their locality. This happened in Dublin during the 1990s when non-vernacular English underwent major change in the city (Hickey 2005 [3.3]). See ACCOMMODATION, DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT.

**distal** A reference to deictic terms indicating distance from the speaker. Some varieties of English, notably Scottish English, still use such a term, for example *The boat yonder is the ferry to Arran*.

**distribution** The totality of environments in which a linguistic item can occur. With regard to sounds, free distribution means that there are no phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of the segment involved (see PHONOTACTICS). Complementary distribution refers to a situation in which two allophones of a phoneme occur in positions which are mutually exclusive, for instance [l] and [ɫ] in RP, the former occurring in syllable-initial and the latter in syllable-final position. A defective distribution is a situation where the number of phonotactic positions in which a segment can occur is incomplete, for example /ʊ/ or /ɨ/ in Modern English which cannot occupy a syllable-initial slot or /h/ which only occurs in this position.

**disyllabification** The splitting of one syllable into two. Words which contain a diphthong in a closed syllable may be susceptible to disyllabification as seen with past participles in New Zealand English, for example *grown* [grəʊwən], *thrown* [θrəʊwən] (Bauer and Warren 2008 [8.2]). A similar phenomenon is found in vernacular Dublin English and affects high vowels, for example *clean* [klijən], *school* [skuwəl] (Hickey 2005 [3.3]).

**do, inflectional paradigms of** Some varieties of English have zero inflection on auxiliary forms of verbs. For instance, a distinction is found between an auxiliary *do* with no inflection and a lexical verb *do* with inflection, for example in south-west England (Ihalainen 1991a [2.9]) and, by extension, in Newfoundland.

**do as conjunction** A usage which appears in East Anglian English is found in sentences like *Don't you take yours off, [because if you] do you'll get rheumatism* (Trudgill 2008b [2.6]) where the elements in square brackets are not present but show how this structure probably arose. There would appear to be a parallel in the speech of the Lower South of the United States. Sentences like *And she come pull the covers back off that baby's face, don't that baby would have been dead* can be interpreted as containing a grammaticalized conjunction *do* which can be paraphrased (in this instance) as 'and if she hadn't' (Trudgill 1997: 754–755 [2.6]).

**do as 'pro-verb'** There would seem to be a greater range in English English than in American English for *do* as a 'pro-verb', for example *You should have washed the dishes*. BE: *Yes, I should have done*. AE: *Yes, I should have* (Lass 1987: 278–279 [1.5]).

**do support** The verb *do* is found in present-day English as a support verb when forming negatives, for example *He doesn't like linguistics*. This shows variation across varieties, for example in Southern Irish English *do* support does not occur with *use*, for example *She usen't speak French* for *She didn't use to speak French*. See NICE PROPERTIES.



**Doegen, Wilhelm Albert (1877–1967)** A German scholar who had an interest in recording minority languages and dialects. Doegen studied phonetics in Berlin and later in Oxford under Henry Sweet where he increased his knowledge of English and the anglophone world. He also became a member of the International Phonetic Association. Doegen's original recordings of English dialect speakers were destroyed during World War II but shellac copies survived and in the 1990s the Humboldt University in Berlin started a project to digitalize this material, see BERLINER LAUTARCHIV.

**domestic hypothesis** A proposal, put forward by Ian Hancock, that due to the mixing of English-speaking traders and the native population on the coast of West Africa a pidgin had arisen there before the importation of slaves to the Caribbean began in the seventeenth century. See Hancock (1985 [9]).

**dominant language** In a bilingual or multilingual situation – either individually or communally – this is the language which has the most status (socially) or has been acquired best (individually) and is hence used most often.

**Dominica** An island state in the Lesser Antilles (Eastern Caribbean). At 750 sq km in size and with a population of approximately 73,000, it is a former British colony and became independent in 1978 (after a spell in the short-lived West Indies Federation, 1958–1962) with English as the official language. However, the vernacular is a French-lexifier creole, Antillean Creole, also spoken on St Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago and related to Haitian Creole.

**donor issue** A reference to the question of where remnant dialects, such as those along the Mid-Atlantic coast of the United States, acquired the structural features that set them apart from other varieties of American English.

**donor language** A language which is the source of words and/or structures borrowed by a further language, the receiving language. At present English is the donor language for much borrowing into other languages. During the Middle English period, forms of French were donors of words which became established in English over the course of a few centuries.

**Doric** A reference to varieties of Scots in north-east Scotland, a region with distinctive features which distinguish it from Central Scots, for example the retention of velar stops before nasals in syllable onsets (*knock* with /kn-/ , *gnaw* with /gn-/), the realization of /m/ as [f] (*whit* /fit/ 'what'), the realization of initial /w/ before /r/ as [v] (*wrath* as [vraθ]) and the use of [d] for /ð/ in intervocalic, pre-rhotic position (*brother* [bridər], *father* [fadər]) along with a number of special vowel realizations. The label 'Doric' was previously applied to Scots in general but came to refer solely to forms in the north-east. The term derives from an English use of Doric meaning 'rustic' (with reference to ancient Greece when the Dorians were regarded by the Athenians as country people). See McClure (2001 [3.1.4]) and McColl Millar (2007 [3.1.4]).

**dorsal** A label referring to the back of the tongue.

**Dorset** A county in the south/south-west of England between Hampshire and Devon, see Widén (1968 [1949] [2.9]) for a dialect study and Wakelin (1986 [2.9]) for an overview.

**double negative** See NEGATIVE CONCORD.

**double plural** The plural form of a noun which, when viewed historically, is seen to consist of two plurals, for example *brethren* which shows a reflex of the umlauted form of *brother* /o/ > /ø/ > /e/ and an *n*-plural; another common instance is *children* which historically contains both an *r*-plural (cf. dialectal *childer*) and a *n*-plural similar to the plural *oxen*.

**doublet** One of two words which derive from the same root etymologically, for example *shirt* or *skirt* both of which represent reflexes of the same Germanic root (the former is West Germanic and the latter North Germanic in origin). Other examples would be *tawny* – *tan*, *person* – *parson* (with SERVE-LOWERING), *palsy* – *paralysis* (/r/-loss with later contraction in the former). With *fealty* – *fidelity*, *catch* – *chase*, *warranty* – *guarantee*, *hostel* – *hotel* the first word is Anglo-Norman (from eleventh-/twelfth-century French in England) and the second is from later forms of written French; these are instances of double borrowing. Other examples are *royal* (medieval French) and *regal* (Latin) or *risky* (medieval French) and *risqué* (modern French).

**Downeast accent** An accent of English characteristic of coastal Maine and related to conservative NEW ENGLAND varieties.

**Dravidian** A language family which is found mainly in the south of India (but Brahui is spoken in present-day Pakistan). The best-known Dravidian language is Tamil and there are diaspora communities in Singapore and South Africa due to TRANSPORTATION during the colonial period. More recent emigration of Tamils from Sri Lanka and India has led to a considerable population in Canada (in the Toronto region) now numbering about 200,000. Other major Dravidian languages are Telegu, Kannada and Malayalam.

**Drawl, Southern** See AMERICAN ENGLISH, SOUTHERN.

**DRESS lexical set** The set of words which have the vowel used in the word *dress*, usually a short mid front vowel [e~ɛ]. There are varieties of English, for example in California, Canada and recently in Dublin, which show a noticeable lowering of this vowel, *dress* [dræs], as part of a more general lowering of short front vowels, /i/ to [e] and /æ/ to [a]. See CALIFORNIA VOWEL SHIFT, CANADIAN SHIFT, DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT.

**drift** An imperceptible change in language in a more or less constant direction as with the shift from synthetic to analytic in the history of English.

**Dublin English** A reference to varieties of English spoken in Dublin, the capital of Ireland. The English language was taken to Dublin in the late twelfth century by English speakers who came during the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. Although Irish was spoken throughout Ireland then, and in the ensuing centuries, English maintained a firm foothold in the city. From at least the eighteenth century onwards there were vernacular and non-vernacular varieties in the city, the latter providing the basis for supraregional IRISH ENGLISH, given that Dublin was and is by far the largest city in Ireland and the cultural and political centre of the country. The pronunciation of vernacular Dublin English shows many archaic features, for example the retention of /ʊ/ in the STRUT lexical set, cf. *Dublin* [dʊblən], and a velarized [ɫ] in syllable-final position, cf. *field* [fi:ɫd], and continues the diphthongization before this

sound in words like *bold* [bauɫ], *old* [auɫ]. It also retains the original distinction of short vowels before historical /r/, that is the NURSE and TERM lexical sets are different, namely [nʊ:s] and [tɛ:m] respectively. There is a complex system of /t/ LENITION which involves the use of /h/, /ʔ/, /r/ or Ø, for example *put* [puh], [puʔ], [pu]; *letter* [lɛhɛ], [lɛrɛ]. Other prominent features are: (1) non-rhoticity or low rhoticity, for example *car* [kæ:], *card* [kæ:d] but [-r-] occurs in SANDHI, for example *get up!* [gɛrʊp]; (2) centralization of the /ai/ diphthong, for example *fly* [flɛi]; (3) fronting of the onset for the /au/ diphthong, for example *house* [hɛʊs]; (4) the breaking of long high vowels, for example *clean* [klijən], *school* [skuwəl]. The grammar of Dublin English is not essentially different from rural vernaculars in Ireland. There is much distinctive vocabulary, including a wide range of bawdy items, which are part of local culture. Hickey (2005 [3.3]).

**Dublin Vowel Shift** A series of vowel shifts in non-vernacular speech which began in the late 1980s and progressed through the 1990s in Dublin, the capital of Ireland. The essence of the shift is a raising of low back vowels and diphthong onsets, something which contrasts clearly with the traditionally open realization of such vowels, for example *north* [nɔ:ɹɫ], [no:ɹɫ], *choice* [tʃɔis], [tʃɔis]. A HORSE-HOARSE merger also occurred, that is [ho:rs] is the present pronunciation for both these words which contrasts with the traditional distinction of [hɔ:rs] and [ho:rs]. The vowel raising probably triggered the (further) diphthongization of the GOAT vowel, especially in the speech of females: *home* [ho:m] > [hoʊm] > [həʊm]. These developments can be interpreted as DISSOCIATION from vernacular varieties which have very open realizations of back vowels. In addition the new non-vernacular pronunciation of the 1990s has a retroflex [ɹ] which is in marked contrast to the low rhoticity or non-rhoticity of local Dublin English, compare *sore* [so:ɹ] with vernacular [sɔ:(r)]. The external motivation for these changes may well lie in the unprecedented economic boom of the 1990s which engendered a new generation of young Irish people who did not wish to be associated with a seemingly backward vernacular culture in the city. See Hickey (2005 [3.3]).

**duration** For any given sound, the length of time necessary for its articulation. There are usually two divisions, into long and short, this applying to vowels (English) and possibly to consonants (Italian, Swedish, Finnish).

**durative** An aspectual type which expresses that an action took place for a certain length of time. It contrasts with *punctual* aspect.

**Durkheim, Emile (1859–1917)** The main figure in nineteenth-century French sociology and the founder of the modern discipline. His work was influential in other spheres including linguistics: Saussure's ideas about the role of language in society derive from Durkheim's thinking.

**Dutch** A West Germanic language spoken in The Netherlands and in Belgium (where it is called Flemish) by about 20 million people. Documents for Dutch go back to the twelfth century. Together with Flemish and German dialects, Dutch is part of the Low German dialect continuum across the southern shore of the North Sea. It is also found in Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles as a result of the Dutch colonial past, but has not been continued in Indonesia. Another form, AFRIKAANS, is the result of colonial settlement in South Africa.

**Dutch colonialism** The colonial enterprise as undertaken by the low-lying country in the North Sea which has had the following designations throughout recent centuries: The Dutch Republic (1581–1795) – also known as the Republic of the (Seven) United Netherlands – followed by the brief Batavian Republic (1795–1806), then followed by the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815–1839) leading to the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. Like the British, the Dutch allowed private companies to run their colonies – the Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 – with the state earning indirectly (through taxes and duty) from their trade activities. Especially in the Dutch Golden Age (seventeenth century), the Dutch rose to become a major naval power and established colonies in Asia, often in areas first visited by the Portuguese or the Spanish. The Dutch maintained trading posts in south India, in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), in various parts of later Indonesia and in Japan where the Dutch used Dejima in the port of Nagasaki from 1641–1853 (after the Portuguese). With the rise of British colonialism in Asia the Dutch lost some of their locations there, for example in India, Sri Lanka and Mauritius but maintained the Malay Archipelago as the Dutch East Indies which later became Indonesia, after independence in 1945 (acknowledged in 1949).

Parallel to the East Indies, the Dutch Republic had possessions in the Atlantic arena, known collectively as the Dutch West Indies. These included islands in the Caribbean called the Netherlands Antilles: (i) Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (ABC islands), in the south Caribbean and (ii) Sint Maarten, Saba, and Sint Eustatius (SSS islands), in the East Caribbean. The Dutch also had a colony on the northern coast of South America which became Dutch Guyana (now Suriname). Other colonies did not survive, for example the Dutch settlements in the later United States and New Holland in the extreme west of South America, now part of Brazil. The Dutch colony in South Africa, the Cape Colony, founded in 1652, was an independent settlement which gave rise to AFRIKAANS.

**‘dynamic’ model** A model devised by the Austrian-German linguist Edgar W. Schneider to account for the development of English in former colonies of Britain. It stresses the manner in which overseas varieties of English have evolved in specific ecologies and strives to account for why certain features have emerged. The model stresses the essential interaction of social identities and linguistic forms, the nature of which accounts in large measure for the profiles of post-colonial Englishes. Contact occupies a central position in Schneider’s model, both between dialects present among settlers as well as between English speakers and those of indigenous languages at various colonial locations. Contact-induced change produced differing results depending on the social and demographic conditions under which it took place, that is on the local ecology, and on its linguistic triggers, for example code-switching, code-alternation, bilingualism or non-prescriptive adult language acquisition.

The model was first presented as an article in *Language* (Schneider 2003 [10.3]) and later in more detailed form in the monograph *Postcolonial English* (Schneider 2007 [10.3]). This model assumes former colonies went through various stages which can lead ultimately to the development and differentiation of independent ENDONORMATIVE varieties of English, though this stage has not been reached in all cases. Schneider also proposes that there is a shared underlying process driving the formation of post-colonial Englishes, a unilateral causal implication as follows: socio-historical background > identity of early groups > sociolinguistic conditions of communication and contact > resulting features of the emerging post-colonial variety.

Schneider identifies a sequence of five stages for the development of post-colonial Englishes: Phase 1: foundation – dialect mixture and koineization (for locations with multiple dialect

inputs); Phase 2: exonormative stabilization – a ‘British-plus’ identity for the English-speaking residents when the colony is established and has secured its position vis-à-vis the colonial home country, mostly England (though this was the United States in the case of The Philippines); Phase 3: nativization involving the emergence of local patterns, often associated with political independence or the striving for this; Phase 4: endonormative stabilization, for example ‘national self-confidence’ with codification, usually soon after independence; and Phase 5: differentiation – the birth of new dialects, internal developments now linked to internal socio-ethnic distribution processes. Further issues considered in Schneider’s model include the distinction of settler and indigenous strands in the early stages of new varieties, the impact of accommodation and the importance of identity formation. *See also* NEW DIALECT FORMATION.

# E

**Early Modern English (1500–1700)** A division in the history of English (Nevalainen 2004 [1.5]) which can be said to begin with the introduction of printing to England, in 1476 by William Caxton, and to end with the Augustan Age which began with the ascent of Queen Anne to the English throne in 1702. This time span includes the Elizabethan era with its most important writer William Shakespeare. *See* LATE MODERN ENGLISH (1700–).

**ease of articulation** A putative reason for sound change. It may play a role in quick speech and possibly affect a sound system over time. However, it cannot always be assumed to be a reason for change.

**East Africa** During the nineteenth century Britain controlled large tracts of East Africa, above all the countries Uganda (independence: 1963) and Kenya (independence: 1963). Tanganyika was a German colony in the nineteenth century and was taken over by the British in 1922 because of a League of Nations mandate. After independence in 1961 Tanganyika merged with Zanzibar to form Tanzania in 1964. In Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania English and Swahili are official languages. At the end of the nineteenth century the British became a colonial power in Egypt due to its desire for control over the Suez Canal and extended its sphere of influence into present-day Sudan (and South Sudan) by forming a union with Egypt. The presence of the British was not sufficient to establish English as a widespread language in either country so that the language is more a foreign language than it is in Uganda, Kenya or Tanzania.

**East Anglia** The large flat expanse of land to the immediate north and north-east of London with Norwich as its regional centre. This area has been linguistically distinctive since the Middle English period and inhabitants from there who moved to London may have affected the speech of the capital in the fourteenth century. East Anglian dialect has a number of distinctive features such as the lack of verbal *-s* in the present tense, a high incidence of

SERVE-LOWERING and a phonemic distinction between /u:/ from Middle English /o:/ as in *road* [ru:d] and /ʊ:/ not from this source as in *rude* [rʊ:d] (Trudgill 2008a: 186–187 [2.6]). See Fisiak & Trudgill (eds, 2001 [2.6]).

**East Asia** A reference to the area which includes the densely populated countries China, Japan and Korea. English is a foreign language in this region and shows the heavy influence of background languages. There are some similarities among the genetically unrelated languages of East Asia, notably the lack of consonant clusters. Languages like Chinese have tone distinctions and Japanese has a pitch accent system (standard Korean does not have this) which can lead to intonational patterns not found in first-language varieties of English.

**East coast dialect area** Varieties of English found in the east and south-east of Ireland which go back to English in the late medieval period (that of earliest settlement). This area includes the city of Dublin (*see* DUBLIN ENGLISH). See Hickey (2007b [3.3]).

**East India Company** A commercial organization which effectively ran the colonial enterprise in Asia for several centuries. In 1600 it was granted a Royal Charter to engage in trade with the East Indies, a geographical term encompassing countries from India through mainland South-East Asia to the island regions of present-day Indonesia and the Philippines. The company was very powerful, especially in India, and effectively controlled large areas of the country. Robert Clive (1725–1774) of the company became the first Governor General of Bengal (the region containing Kolkata [Calcutta]). With the East India Company Act of 1773 the British government sought to control the company. As a consequence of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, formally termed the Indian Mutiny, the British authorities effectively nationalized the company with the Government of India Act (1858).

**East Indies** A term formerly used for the islands of the Malay Archipelago which now consists of three countries, (insular) Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines. The islands which now constitute Indonesia were formerly the Dutch East Indies and were colonies of the Dutch Republic (DUTCH COLONIALISM). The term ‘East Indies’ was intended as a complement to ‘West Indies’ used in colonial times to refer to the islands of the CARIBBEAN.

**Eastern Caribbean** A geographical reference to the small islands of the Eastern Caribbean, comprising the Lesser Antilles which stretch from the Virgin Islands in the north, immediately east of Puerto Rico, to Trinidad in the south, just off the coast of South America. The anglophone islands in this group were among the first settled in the seventeenth century and are dialectally separate from other anglophone Caribbean locations such as Jamaica or the Bahamas, for example in retaining initial /h-/ not found elsewhere in the Caribbean and in showing a merger of /v/ and /w/ (Aceto 2008a: 295 [5.3.2]). See Aceto and Williams (eds, 2003 [5.3]).

**ebb and flow** A term referring to the fact that in language change features can move from one value to another and back again. This means that an observable feature value need not be a continuation of the original historical input. For instance, velarized [ɫ] in south-eastern English is a relatively recent phenomenon despite the fact that /l/ was velarized (and later vocalized) earlier in the history of English, cf. *talk* and *walk* (Hickey 2002 [1.2.1]).



**Ebonics** [ɪˈbɒnɪks] A term, coined by Robert Williams of Washington University in St Louis in 1973, which is used in many discussions of the social and political position of African American English. The term is specifically connected to the debate, unleashed by a controversial decision by a school board in Oakland, California in 1996, about whether African American English is so different from General American English to warrant teaching it as a separate language. See Baugh (1999 [5.1.10], 2000, 2004 [5.1.10.2]).

**Edgeworth, Maria (1767–1849)** An Irish novelist who lived and worked on the family estate at Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford. In 1800 she published *Castle Rackrent*, the earliest regional novel in English which was an acknowledged influence on the Scottish novelist Sir Walter Scott, who praised its innovations in the preface to *Waverley* (1814). The novel contains many non-standard structures which are known to have been typical of Irish English during Edgeworth's lifetime.

**Edinburgh** The capital of Scotland, Edinburgh is situated in the south-east on the Firth of Forth and has a population of about 800,000. Settlement at the site of Edinburgh goes back to before the Germanic settlement of Britain. In the Old English period it was part of Northumbria and the Anglian dialect spoken there formed the input to the earliest forms of Scots. Edinburgh was the seat of a parliament until the Act of Union came into force in 1707. In 1998, with devolved government in the United Kingdom, a Scottish parliament came into being again. Edinburgh was a cultural and academic centre during the Scottish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Non-vernacular speech of Edinburgh is essentially SCOTTISH STANDARD ENGLISH which in all but phonology is essentially standard English. Class-conscious speech in Edinburgh has traditionally been associated with the Morningside accent but this has no great relevance in the present-day city. See Schützler (2011 [3.1]).

**education** In the development of varieties of English, the type of education provided to a population can be of decisive importance. In some countries, such as Sri Lanka, the transmission of English was initially determined by missionaries active in the country. In other regions, such as the Caribbean, locally educated teachers came to be important in the dissemination of supraregional varieties at some remove from standard British English. In Celtic regions the introduction of primary education for the native population (generally in the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries) accelerated the language shift to English. In both South Africa and Ireland, schooling for children meant that these carried knowledge of English back into their parental households, this then spreading to the older generation.

**ego-documents** A general term for texts written in the first person singular. These include personal diaries, private letters and autobiographies.

**ejectives** These sounds are formed by a closure of the glottis (the space between the vocal cords) and some point in the supraglottal tract, for instance, the velum. Given the fact that the glottis is closed, ejectives are voiceless segments. During the articulation of an ejective the glottis is raised, somewhat increasing the pressure inside the area between the glottis and the supraglottal closure. When an ejective is released there is a sudden burst of the air trapped during the articulation. Ejectives thus have a sharper burst than aspirated consonants which show a pulse of air on the release of the voiceless stop. Some languages have phonemic ejectives, for example Caucasian languages such as Georgian, languages of the Pacific Northwest, some

native languages of South America and some Afro-Asiatic languages of north-central Africa. In English, ejectives are rare though some speakers do have them as an idiosyncratic feature, especially in English English today. There is a tendency towards (moderate) ejectives among some young females in advanced Dublin English.

**Ekwall, Eilert** [e:kval, eilert] (1877–1964) A Swedish scholar of the history of English who produced various works in this field such as *A History of Modern English Sounds and Morphology* (translated from German in 1975).

**elaborated code** A term introduced by the British sociologist Basil Bernstein in the late 1960s. It refers to the kind of language employed by the better-situated classes in Britain which is supposedly capable of making finer distinctions than the restricted code putatively used by the working classes.

**elision** The contraction of two or more sounds in spoken language, usually involving the deletion of an unstressed vowel. It may or may not be indicated orthographically, for example *can't* < *can* + *not* in English.

**ellipsis** The omission of some part of a phrase or sentence usually because it is clear from the context what is intended. *When did she leave? At five. (She left at five o'clock).*

**Ellis, Alexander John** (1814–1890) A nineteenth-century scholar, born in London and educated in Eton and Cambridge. Ellis was to become one of the foremost phoneticians and dialectologists of his day. He is remembered as the author of a five-volume work *On Early English Pronunciation* (1868–1889 [1.5]).

**elocution** A type of instruction in which speakers are taught ostensibly correct diction. Originally about clarity of delivery, it came in the eighteenth century to be concerned with instructing non-standard speakers in how to pronounce standard English. Notable elocutionists of this period are Thomas SHERIDAN, author of *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (1762) and John WALKER, author of *Elements of Elocution* (1781) and *A Rhetorical Grammar or Course of Lessons in Elocution* (1785). Elocution was part of general education throughout the nineteenth century but no longer occupies the position it once had.

**emailing** The use of an email system to convey messages. Emails are typically ephemeral and are not usually revisited by their senders, hence less care is taken with their formulation. In addition many abbreviations have arisen here, as well as in TEXTING and BLOGS, in order to save time during writing, for example 'Best' (probably from 'Best regards' or 'Best wishes'). Using lower-case spelling throughout is also common in emailing and is the rule in texting.

**embedding** The insertion of one syntactic phrase or unit within another, for example *The girl, who stood up and left the room, is my sister.* See DISCONTINUOUS.

**emergent varieties** A term used for those varieties which embody the latest developments in a set of varieties. They are by definition at the vanguard of change.

**emigrant letters** A term for the correspondence, during the colonial period (1600–1900), between people who emigrated overseas and those who were still at the source area. Such letters are written in a vernacular style in the first person and frequently offer attestations of variety features not present in more formal text types. See Bermejo-Giner and Montgomery (1997 [1.4.2]).

**emigration** A term for the voluntary or involuntary departure of individuals from their homeland to a new destination, usually overseas during the colonial period. There are several reasons why emigration took place: (i) freedom of religious practice (early settlers in north-east America); (ii) economic necessity: famine (Great Famine in Ireland), loss of livelihood due to eviction (Highland Clearances in Scotland); (iii) deportation (early Australia); (iv) indentured labour (early Caribbean settlement). There are also combinations of reasons, for example the Ulster Scots who left northern Ireland in the eighteenth century sought better economic circumstances in the United States but also the freedom to practice Presbyterianism. The British government developed a system of assisted emigration (advocated by Robert Wilmot-Hurton 1784–1841) in the early nineteenth century to help poor British and Irish go to the colonies, be given land and settle there.

It is known from immigration patterns in the anglophone world, such as the eastern United States or Newfoundland (Mannion, ed., 1977 [5.2.8]), both in the eighteenth centuries and later in the United States in the nineteenth century, that immigrants from specific backgrounds clustered in certain areas. The most obvious reason for this is that those who went first relayed information back to those in the area they came from. Others then followed, going to the same area at the overseas location. In the case of the recruitment of emigrants the same would have

**Table 7** Scenarios for overseas emigration and their influence on emerging or pre-existing varieties.

(1) <i>Population movement</i> <i>Country/region involved</i> <i>Type of influence</i> <i>Time scale</i>	Seasonal migration for work (England, Ireland) Canada, Newfoundland All linguistic levels affected Eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries
(2) <i>Population movement</i> <i>Country/region involved</i> <i>Type of influence</i> <i>Time scale</i>	Convicts and political prisoners (England, Ireland) Australia Perhaps phonological / morphological Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries
(3) <i>Population movement</i> <i>Country/region involved</i> <i>Type of influence</i> <i>Time scale</i>	Famine, eviction (Ireland, Scotland) East coast of the United States Very little if any Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries
(4) <i>Population movement</i> <i>Country/region involved</i> <i>Type of influence</i> <i>Time scale</i>	Dissenters from Ulster and Scotland Appalachia All linguistic levels affected Mainly eighteenth century
(5) <i>Population movement</i> <i>Country/region involved</i> <i>Type of influence</i> <i>Time scale</i>	Indentured labourers (England, Ireland) Barbados, then other parts of the Caribbean Syntax / aspectual system Mid seventeenth to eighteenth century

applied: the recruiters in the homeland would have had contacts with specific points in the overseas locations. If one assumes that this was the case for countries like New Zealand in the nineteenth century as well, then one can assume local proportions from the major regions of Britain, depending on initial settlement patterns. The Otago and Southland regions of the South Island, where many Scottish settled, or the Westland region with a high concentration of Irish are clear instances. Certain tensions between regional groups from the British Isles would have furthered this clustering, for instance the Protestant Scottish and the Catholic Irish congregated in different parts of New Zealand. Segregation along confessional lines is largely true of Newfoundland as well, certainly of the outlying areas away from the Avalon Peninsula and its centre St John's (see Table 7).

**emoticon** A small symbol used in an email or text message to convey an emotional state or stance to the addressee. In systems with graphic capabilities this is a non-text image, for example a small face with a smile, but in text-based systems emoticons can be suggested by using specific combinations of punctuation, for example :-) for a smile, ;-) for a wink or :-( to express disappointment or displeasure. The term is a BLEND of *emotion* and *icon*. See PUNCTUATION.

**emphasizers, sentence-final** The adverbs *but*, *now* or *so* can be used at the end of a sentence to add focus in some varieties, for example *He was a great runner, but.* (= 'though', in Irish, Scottish and Tyneside English, Beal 1993: 211 [2.10]) *They're always cheating their customers, now. They'll be selling off the other house, so.* This type of emphasis is distinct from clefting (CLEFT SENTENCE), as here the entire sentence is stressed but with clefting an element of a sentence is extracted and shifted to the front for highlighting.

**empty morph** In some morphological analyses, this is an element which is posited as carrier of a grammatical category but not present on the surface, for instance the word *sheep* could be said to contain an empty plural morph: *sheep* + Ø.

**endogeny versus contact** A dichotomy which refers to the possible sources of features in colonial varieties. Endogeny refers to internal factors and contact to the adoption of features from other languages or varieties, cf. the discussion of South African English in Lass & Wright (1986 [6.3.1.1]) and Mesthrie (2002 [6.3.1]).

**endonormative** A reference to the use of an internal model for emerging varieties in colonies. This is a late stage of development (see 'DYNAMIC' MODEL) as exonormative models apply in the early years of varieties.

**England** A country comprising the largest part of the island of Britain and the governing constituent part of the United Kingdom. To the north it is bordered by Scotland, to the east by the North Sea, to the south by the English Channel and to the west by Wales, the Irish Sea and to the south-west by the Celtic Sea. England has an area of 130,000 sq km and a population of approximately 53 million of which nearly 14 million live in the larger metropolitan area of London. Other major cities are Birmingham (West Midlands), Liverpool (Merseyside), Manchester (Greater Manchester), Sheffield (South Yorkshire), Leeds (West Yorkshire), Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Tyne and Wear) all of which form large conurbations. Apart from London, other major ports are Dover, Portsmouth, Southampton, Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, Teesport (near Middlesbrough).

Geographically the country consists of low-lying lands in the south and east, more hilly to the south-west with mountainous terrain on the Welsh border and along a vertical axis in the north of the country (the Pennines). The River Thames runs in a west-east direction and separates the south from the Midlands in the centre and East Anglia on the North Sea coast. The River Humber in the north is a traditional border between the lower and the far north. The border with Scotland corresponds roughly to the natural border of the Cheviot Hills.

Politically England is a monarchy with a two-chamber parliament, the lower chamber consisting of elected members. Before the local government reform of 1974 the country was divided into Greater London and 45 counties, 6 metropolitan and the remainder non-metropolitan. The counties were further subdivided into districts and the latter into parishes (several other reforms of county boundaries have taken place in recent decades).

England has been settled for several thousand years and Neolithic remains are still in evidence in sites like Stonehenge on the Salisbury Plain. The first group for which there are language remains were the Celts who came from continental Europe probably in the middle of the first millennium BCE. The Roman occupation of Britain began in 55 / 43 BCE and continued until the early fifth century during which time the Romans established settlements, mainly in the south of the country. The event which was to transform England into a country speaking a Germanic language was the arrival of Germanic tribes from the continental North Sea rim in substantial numbers in the mid fifth BCE. The coming of Vikings from Scandinavia had a profound influence in the north and north-east of England but as their advance southwards was stopped in the ninth century the country remained West Germanic linguistically and was to do so from then onwards despite the conquest of England by Normans under William the Conqueror in 1066. After World War II England experienced considerable immigration from many of its former colonies, above all in the Caribbean (Jamaica) and South Asia (India and Pakistan) along with input from many other ethnic groups from Africa, East and South-East Asia, south-eastern and eastern Europe.

England was Christianized from the south by St Augustine in the late sixth century, after a degree of Christianization in the north from Scotland and Ireland. Since the introduction of the Reformation by the Tudor Henry VIII (1509–1547) England has been a Protestant nation with Anglicanism forming the established Church of England of which the current monarch is the non-ecclesiastical head. Non-conformist Protestants can be found in Scotland (Presbyterians) and Wales (Methodists) and also in England (Quakers). With immigration in the second half of the twentieth century England acquired significant numbers of other religious groups, for example Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. The style of standard English may well have been influenced by major works of the established church, notably the *Book of Common Prayer* (first published in 1549) and the *King James Bible* (1611). English is the de facto official language but not de jure as England does not have a written constitution.

**English** A West Germanic language, most closely related to German and Dutch, spoken originally in England. Historically, English is divided into four periods: Old English (450–1066), Middle English (1066–1500), Early Modern English (1500–1700) and Late Modern English (1700 to the present). Due to colonial expansion and recently due to its status as a *LINGUA FRANCA*, English is found in many countries across the world. The main countries with native-speaker populations are Great Britain (England, Wales, Scotland), Ireland, United States, Canada, various Caribbean countries (notably Jamaica and Barbados), South Africa, Australia, New Zealand as well as various smaller islands, such as the Falklands and Tristan da Cunha. There are many *PIDGINS* deriving from English as a *LEXIFIER LANGUAGE*, for example in West Africa in Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria as well as in the South-West Pacific, notably in

Papua New Guinea with TOK PISIN. English is also found as a second language, with various degrees of proficiency, in many countries of South and South-East Asia, for example India, Pakistan; Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines as well as many African countries with an English colonial background, for example Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda.

**English, status as an official language** The extent to which English is spoken in a country is not always reflected in the constitutional status of the language. For instance, in the United States English is not the official language on a federal level though it is in many individual states. There is also a *de facto* and a *de jure* meaning of the term 'official'. If a language is *de jure* official then its status is anchored in the constitution and issues concerning the language are a matter for the supreme court of the country in question. A *de facto* official language is one which is treated as if it were legally official, that is it may have the same status in public usage, in government, in education and may receive a similar amount of state support. In many countries which have been colonies of England there is more than one official language, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, that is English and one or more native languages. For instance, in India, Hindi and English are official plus a further local language in states where Hindi is not the native language (although some southern states have denounced Hindi altogether while other states and Union territories have opted for English as their official language despite being non-Hindi-speaking). In Kenya, Swahili and English are official. In Canada, English and French are official in all areas under federal jurisdiction but there are also a series of regionally recognized First Nations languages, though none is constitutionally anchored. Furthermore, the Province of Quebec has French as its only official language at the provincial level and it is only in areas of federal jurisdiction that English has official status. Regionally recognized languages are common in former colonies in Africa, for example Nigeria and Zambia. However, Cameroon only recognizes English and French officially and Ghana only English. The Philippines has a Spanish and American colonial background and English is an official language along with Filipino. In Ireland, English is the second official language (after Irish, specified in the constitution) although in practice it is the first. England itself does not have an official language as it has no written constitution; however, *de facto* this is English.

**English as a Second Language** A reference to the teaching of English to individuals who wish to acquire a knowledge of the language for a variety of different reasons. The approach is much broader here than with ENGLISH FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES and is frequently concerned with evolving and testing optimal methods of teaching the language.

**English Dialect Dictionary** See WRIGHT, JOSEPH (1855–1930).

**English Dialect Grammar** See WRIGHT, JOSEPH (1855–1930).

**English Dialect Society** A learned society in England founded by Walter SKEAT and which lasted from 1873 to 1896. In this relatively short time span the society published some 80 works on the dialects of England.

**English English** A label used to denote varieties of English within the borders of England, rather than the whole of Britain (the island consisting of England, Wales and Scotland). This reference excludes Welsh English and, most importantly, varieties of Scottish English and Scots. See BRITISH ENGLISH.



**English for Special Purposes** A reference to the teaching of English with a strong focus on the specialist needs of specific learner groups (*see* ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE). The particular focus determines such matters as the range of vocabulary and discourse skills communicated to learners.

**English in Europe** Native varieties of English are spoken in continental Europe in (i) the CHANNEL ISLANDS, (ii) GIBRALTAR and (iii) MALTA. The degree of association with England varies: in the first two locations it is very strong while in the last it is much weaker, especially because the inhabitants of Malta primarily speak Maltese and the country has been independent from Britain since 1964. However, there are local non-English vernaculars in the Channel Islands (Guernésiais and Jersiais, forms of Norman French on Guernsey and Jersey respectively) and in Gibraltar (LLANITO, a mixture of Andalusian Spanish and English).

**English overseas** The development of overseas varieties of English and their historical relationship to regional dialects of English English as well as Scots, Scottish English and Irish English has been examined in depth in recent decades, *see* the volumes on English overseas (Burchfield, ed., 1994 [1.5]) and on English in North America (Algeo, ed., 2001a [5.1]) in the *Cambridge History of the English Language* and Hickey (ed., 2004c [10.2]). Issues concerning English in a global context have been served well by many book-length publications and there are academic journals dedicated to this subject, such as *ENGLISH WORLD-WIDE*.

**English Pronouncing Dictionary** *See* DICTIONARIES, PRONOUNCING.

**English Today** A journal dedicated to different forms of present-day English published in England by Cambridge University Press. The journal is aimed at a general audience, including teachers and language support staff.

**English World-Wide** An academic journal, founded in 1980 and published in Amsterdam by John Benjamins. It is dedicated to varieties of English around the world. The first editor was Manfred Görlach (Cologne) and the second Edgar W. Schneider (Regensburg). As of 2013 the journal is edited by Marianne Hundt and Daniel Schreier (both at Zurich University). There is also an accompanying book series offering in-depth discussion of issues from individual varieties or groups.

**Englishes** This word is now used as a countable, qualifiable noun, cf. *Canadian English*, *Hong Kong English*, *Welsh English*, *East Anglian English*, and often refers to groups of varieties, for example *New Englishes*, *Asian Englishes*, *Celtic Englishes*.

**English-lexifier** A term referring to pidgins and later creoles which derive the greater part of their vocabulary from English, although further levels of language (pronunciation, grammar) can show other influences or independent features.

**English-only movement** A cover term for a number of largely political movements in the United States which have sought to have English made the sole official language on a federal level. On a state level English can be an official language, as in Virginia, for example. Hawai'i is the only state which recognized a further language officially, in this case Hawaiian, though



unincorporated territories do recognize local languages: Puerto Rico (Spanish), Guam (Chamorro), American Samoa (Samoan). Criticism of English-only movements regards them as intolerant of other cultures.

**Engsh** A JARGON which arose among young Kenyans in Nairobi in the 1980s from a mixture of English, Swahili and local languages like Kikuyu or Luo. As opposed to SHENG, ENGSH is taken as characteristic of the somewhat more affluent inhabitants of the city.

**enhancement features** A reference to features which help to enhance a distinction but do not embody it on a systemic level. For instance, in English there is a systemic distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants in word-final position. Phonetically, the vowels before voiced segments can be well over twice as long as those before voiceless consonants thus enhancing the systemic distinction. The enhancement features could in time become systemic themselves, for example if the voiced contrast among stops was lost in English but the vowel length differences remained.

**enregisterment** A process in which linguistic features which were hitherto unnoticed or non-salient come to be associated with a place or region or register and to be seen as typical of its dialect/variety through a specific discourse referring to these features, that is the dialect/variety is conceptualized by others as displaying these features. For instance, the use of /ʊ/ in the STRUT lexical set and of /a/ in the BATH set came, after the lowering of the STRUT vowel and the lengthening of the BATH vowel in the south of England, to be seen as typical dialect features of the north of England although in historical terms it is the south of England which underwent new developments with the vowels in these lexical sets. See Agha (2003 [2.2]) on RP, Johnstone, Andrus & Danielson (2006 [5.1.4]) on ‘Pittsburghese’.

**epenthesis** [əˈpenθɪsɪs] The addition of a sound to a word, either a vowel or a stop. Stop epenthesis, for example /d/ after a homorganic nasal, is attested in English historically in words like *sound* (from French *son*) and *thunder* (cf. German *Donner*). An epenthetic /t/ is still found in forms of Appalachian English as in *clift*, *acrost* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 363–364 [5.1]). Vowel epenthesis involves the insertion of a vowel into a cluster of two sonorants to break up a syllable coda, for example *film* [fɪləm], *helm* [hələm], *worm* [wərəm] (Irish English, also Afrikaans English as a transfer from Afrikaans which in turn has the process from Dutch). Historically, similar instances are attested, for example Shakespeare has *alarum* [əˈla:rəm] for modern *alarm*.

**epicentre** A country or region from which an EXONORMATIVE model of language emanates. Traditionally, England was such an epicentre with non-vernacular south-east English English providing a model for overseas colonies, especially in Africa and Asia. This was followed by non-vernacular American English which, due to the political and economic status of the United States in the twentieth century, came to be emulated more and more by former colonies of Britain and by many countries, especially in Asia, in which English is the premier second language. Increasingly, other epicentres seem to be developing and achieving regional dominance, for example Australia and New Zealand vis-à-vis the anglophone locations of the Pacific. See HETERONYMY and PLURICENTRIC LANGUAGE; Biewer (2012 [8.3]) and Peters (2009 [1.2.10]).

**epigraph** An inscription found on material other than paper (or parchment) such as stone, metal (with coins). The historical study of such inscriptions is called *epigraphy*.

**epiphenomenon** An unintended side effect in language change. For instance, the weakening of unstressed syllables, due to their reduced articulation, can lead over several centuries to the demise of inflectional endings which in turn can result in a typological reorientation of a language from an analytic to a synthetic type. This happened in the history of English between the Old English and the Early Modern periods.

**epistemic** [ɛpɪs'tɪ:mɪk] A term from logic referring to the expression of existence or knowledge rather than obligation. This is illustrated in one use of the modal verb *must* in English as in *Fiona must be Irish*, that is 'She has to be Irish'. See DEONTIC MODALS.

**epithet** A qualification found repeatedly with a proper noun and regarded as part of its designation, for example *Charles the Bald*, *Richard Lionheart*, and so on.

**eponymy** The process of using a proper noun (usually a personal name) to form a new lexeme. It is common with adjectives and, in English, with verbs as well. *Draconian* (< Dracon, severe Athenian legislator in the seventh century BCE), *spartan* (< Sparta, ancient Greek city known for austerity and rigour), *platonic* (< Plato, Greek philosopher, referring to non-physical relationships); *to hoover* (< Hoover, inventor of machine), *to xerox* (< Rank Xerox, firm which first developed photocopying machines).

**equative** A type of sentence which serves the purpose of equating two elements, one specific and the other general. The specific element is regularly the subject of a *be* sentence as in *My boss is a passionate golfer* or *She is remarkably intelligent*.

**error** A phenomenon in foreign language usage in which speakers show some feature or structure which is not well formed in the target language but which is non-random, systematic and characteristic of a developmental stage in acquisition. In this sense the term can be used for both first and second (foreign) language acquisition. Examples of errors would be a plural like *sheeps* (for *sheep*) or a past form like *hitted* (for *hit*). See MISTAKE.

**ESL** See ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE.

**ESP** See ENGLISH FOR SPECIAL PURPOSES.

**Esperanto** An artificial language invented by Ludwig ZAMENHOF in the nineteenth century.

**Estuary English** A term, invented by the teacher David Rosewarne and first used in 1984 in a newspaper article, which has since been taken up by academics and the general public (Coggle 1993: 24–35 [2.3]). It is a label for varieties of English intermediate between RP and COCKNEY. The term is intended to highlight the fact that many NON-VERNACULAR inhabitants of London and the Home Counties move on a cline between the two varieties just mentioned, especially as RP is not necessarily viewed positively in all circles in present-day Britain. The estuary referred to is that of the River Thames and the popularity of the term has certainly to do with the alliteration of the two words of which it consists. The features generally associated with Estuary English can be shown in two tables (see Table 8), one demonstrating its difference to Cockney and one illustrating its difference to RP.

**Table 8** Features of Estuary English/RP and Cockney.

<i>Estuary English / RP</i>	<i>Cockney</i>
no H-dropping	H-dropping, for example <i>hand</i> [ænd]
no TH-fronting	TH-fronting, for example <i>think</i> [fɪŋk]
no MOUTH- monophthong	MOUTH-monophthong, for example <i>town</i> [tɛ:n]
no intervocalic T-glottalling	intervocalic T-glottalling, for example <i>pity</i> [pɪʔi]
<i>Estuary English / Cockney</i>	<i>Received Pronunciation</i>
variable HAPPY-tensing, for example <i>pretty</i> ['prɪti]	no HAPPY-tensing
vocalization of preconsonantal, final /l/, for example <i>help</i> [heʊp]	no vocalization of preconsonantal, final /l/
final T-glottalling, for example <i>cut</i> [kʌʔ]	no final T-glottalling
yod coalescence in stressed syllables, for example <i>tune</i> [tʃu:n]	no yod coalescence in stressed syllables
some diphthong shift in FACE, PRICE, GOAT, for example [fæɪs], [praɪs], [gəʊt]	no such diphthong shift

Some lexicalized features may also appear in Estuary English, for example the pronunciation of final /-k/ in words ending in *-thing*, for example *something* [sʌmθɪŋk]. Cluster simplification may also be found as in /nt/ > /n/ intervocalically, for example *twenty* [tweni], *plenty* [pleni]. See Coggle (1993 [2.3]), Przedlacka (1999 [2.3]), Altendorf (2003 [2.3]).

In recent decades there has been an increasing encroachment of Cockney features into RP. While it is true that features like H-dropping and TH-fronting are stigmatized, there are signs that others, such as HAPPY-tensing, final T-glottalling and possibly L-vocalization as well as yod coalescence, are gaining acceptance among RP speakers. See Wells (1994 [2.4]).

**ethnic differences among varieties** See DERRY ENGLISH.

**ethnography of communication** The study of cultural differences in acts of communication. This is a comprehensive term which goes beyond obvious differences in pronunciation or grammar to cover additional aspects such as formulaic use of language (for example in greeting or parting rituals), proxemics (the use of distance between partners in a conversation) and kinesics (the study of body movements used in communication).

**ethnography of variation** A reference to external factors which determine how and to what extent speakers participate in variation present in their community, specifically how they engage in this variation to project their social identity, that is this variation is an integral part of how individuals present themselves in their social grouping. There is a linguistic aspect to this social projection which can be seen, for example, in advanced DUBLIN ENGLISH where speakers can avail of extreme values for variable features to indicate urban sophistication and modernity, for example extreme MOUTH-fronting, *house* [heʊs], GOAT-diphthongization, *home* [həʊm], DRESS-lowering, *address* [ə'dræs] and NORTH-raising, *born* [bo:ɪn].

**ethnolect** A variety of a language which is characteristic of a specific ethnic group, for example CHICANO ENGLISH in the south-west United States.

**ethnolinguistics** An approach in linguistics which examines language from the point of view of the ethnic groups who use it.

**etymological respelling** An alteration in the spelling of a word which is intended to show the etymological root of a word. Such respellings may or may not lead to a later change in pronunciation; contrast *debt* (Middle English *dette*) and *fault* (Middle English *faute*), remodelled after Latin *debitus* and *fallitus* respectively, where the *b* is not pronounced but the etymologically unjustified *l* now is.

**etymology** An area within historical linguistics which is concerned with the origin and development of the form and meaning of words and the relationship of both these aspects to each other.

**euphemism** A linguistic expression which is deliberately imprecise and vague and which is used instead of a more direct expression, for example *to wash one's hands* for *to go to the bathroom* (American English) / *to the toilet* (British English).

**Eurasian** A general term to refer to people of mixed European and Asian descent.

**Euro-English** A collective term used to refer to second-language varieties used transnationally by Europeans. Whether this constitutes a focussed variety of its own is a matter of debate in the relevant literature. See Mollin (2006 [4.4]).

**European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages** A charter of the Council of Europe which was adopted (in 1992) and ratified later by the majority of European Union countries and some others, such as Norway and Switzerland. Its aim is to give support and protection for languages spoken by minorities within a state's borders, for example by providing financial support for educational and cultural programmes and institutions.

**European languages** All but a few languages in Europe belong to the INDO-EUROPEAN language family. The main groups are: (1) *Indo-European languages* (*Germanic, Italic, Slavic, Baltic, Celtic, Hellenic, Albanian*); (2) *Finno-Ugric* (*Uralic*): (a) *Baltic-Finnic branch: Finnish and Estonian*, (b) *Ugric branch: Hungarian*; (3) *Basque* (*language isolate, north-east Spain/south-west France*); (4) *Turkish* (*Altaic*); (5) *Arabic* (*Afroasiatic*).

**evaluative** The assessment of the speech of others as good or bad, that is the use of value judgements in language matters. Such judgements are typical of prescriptive approaches and are avoided by linguists concerned with language description.

**eWAVE** An electronic atlas documenting the variation in grammar found across varieties of English worldwide, accessible at <http://www.ewave-atlas.org/>. It was designed and compiled at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies under the directorship of Bernd Kortmann. There is also a companion print publication, see Kortmann & Lunkenheimer (eds, 2012 [1]). The acronym eWAVE stands for 'electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English'.

**exaptation** A term from evolutionary biology which was applied to language change by the American linguist Roger Lass. In the linguistic context exaptation refers to the recycling of

non-functional elements of a language for a specific purpose. This view implies a degree of agency on the part of speakers, something which is not uncontested in the literature.

**exclusive** A characteristic of first person plural pronouns whereby the interlocutor in an exchange is not included. There are languages – such as Tok Pisin (the creole of Papua New Guinea) – which have different forms for the inclusion or exclusion of the person addressed; in Tok Pisin these forms are *jumi* (< *you + me*, inclusive ‘we’) and *mipela* (exclusive ‘we’).

**existential *in it*** A usage in vernacular Irish English, deriving from a construction in Irish. It consists of adding ‘in it’ to an existential statement to highlight it, for example *There’s plenty of jobs in it but the young people are too choosy*.

**existential *it*** A use of *it* as a dummy subject in sentences expressing state or existence, for example *It was hot last week, It isn’t fair to ignore young scholars*. See EXISTENTIAL *THERE*.

**existential *there*** The use of the locative adverb *there* to express fact or existence, for example *There’s a problem with your paper*. In many vernaculars (in Britain and Ireland and in varieties deriving historically from these) singular verb inflection is common with plural reference, for example *There’s lots of ways to get around that*.

**exonormative** A reference to the use of norms and models of language which stem from outside an area and/or country. In the history of colonies, especially in the post-colonial period, there may well be a switch from exonormative to endonormative norms as is the case in Australian and New Zealand English. See ‘DYNAMIC’ MODEL, ENDONORMATIVE.

**exonym** A proper name, typically a city, less commonly a country, which is used by others, not its inhabitants, for example English *Naples* for Italian *Napoli*, Italian *Amburgo* for German *Hamburg*, English/French *Cologne* for German *Köln*, English *Gothenburg* for Swedish *Göteborg*. Although there is a long tradition of using exonyms many countries try to adopt endonyms (the native names) out of respect for the country in question, for example English [den ha:g] *Den Haag* for *The Hague* (Netherlands).

**expansion, semantic** A type of semantic change in which a word increases its range of meaning. For instance, the word *culture* has expanded its meaning to cover types of behaviour, for example *Present-day knife culture is to be deplored*. *Surgery* is a medical day practice but has been expanded to mean any type of consultation offered to the public, for example by members of parliament. An older example is *ride*, which can be used for travelling by motorized vehicle, for example a car. Expansion can often involve complementary restriction, for example the term *gender* is used in contexts where *sex* was previously employed, for example *We must employ teachers of both genders in equal measure*; so ‘gender’ was expanded and ‘sex’ was restricted as a result.

**expletive** A term or phrase which expresses abuse, swearing, offense, and so on. Vernacular varieties tend to have a larger range in this area than do non-vernaculars.

**exponence** The realization of a category or structure, the actual form it takes. The term is often used to contrast form and content. An example would be the category of habitual aspect

which has many kinds of exponence in the anglophone world, for example *does be, do be* (southern Irish English, many Caribbean creoles), as in *She does be out in the town*, or *bees/be* (northern and recessive south-eastern Irish English, African American English), as in *He bees/be fishing at the weekend*.

**ex-slave recordings** A collection of recordings of Americans born into slavery, from the Library of Congress's *Archive of Folk Song*. The transcripts are of interviews with a dozen Ex-Slave Elders, born before the end of the Civil War (between 1844 and 1861), which were made in the 1930s and 1940s. See Bailey, Maynor & Cukor-Avila (eds, 1991 [5.1.10]).

**extended now** A term sometimes found for the use of the present tense in contexts in which the present perfect would be found in more standard varieties, for example *I know M... and A... for many years now*; *We're living here for ten years now* (vernacular Irish English).

**extranational variety** A variety is extranational if it has significance in a country but stems from outside its borders. For instance, German is an extranational variety to Austrians, French is to Walloons and Dutch is to Flemings. Extranational varieties may be perceived as an undifferentiated type, as with the perception of English English by many Irish or of US English by Canadians.

**extraterritorial** An adjective, introduced into variety studies by Roger Lass, used to characterize forms of English which developed outside Britain. It also characterizes forms of English in Ireland, which the term 'overseas varieties' does not as it refers to those outside the British Isles. Other terms exist which refer to specific macro-groupings, for example *New World English*, *Southern Hemisphere English*, *Asian English*, and so on. The label 'extraterritorial' has not enjoyed great favour in the literature, perhaps because it is felt to be anglocentric.

**eye dialect** An alteration of standard spelling to focus attention on a particular pronunciation, for example *woz* for 'was', *sez* for 'says'. Eye dialect does not necessarily indicate a non-standard pronunciation, though it can point to features of a variety, for example *walkin'* for [wɔ:kɪŋ] in a dialect which has alveolarization of [ŋ]. Writers of regional literature typically use eye dialect to draw attention to pronunciation.

**eye rhyme** Two words which appear to rhyme on the basis of their spellings but not their pronunciations, for example *rough* /rʌf/ and *cough* /kɒf/.

# F

**FACE lexical set** The set of words which have the same vowel pronunciation as the word *face*. In non-vernacular varieties of English English the vowel is usually a diphthong: *face* [feɪs]; in Cockney the tongue movement can be greater, that is [fɛɪs] or even [fæɪs]. In American English the FACE vowel is also a diphthong, but in the Upper Midwest and in Canada a monophthong is more common, that is [fe:s]. The vowel can be lowered, as in many forms of Northern English: [fɛ:s] or have a high starting centring diphthong: [fiəs] as in some varieties of West Caribbean English.

**Falkland Islands, The** An island group consisting of the major islands West Falkland and East Falkland along with several smaller islands occupying an area of some 12,200 sq km. The Falkland archipelago is geologically part of the continental shelf on the Atlantic coast of Argentina. A British possession since 1833, when the Argentinians were ousted, the islands have been the object of general attention by Argentina prompting claims to the islands, climaxing in the Falklands War of 1982 when Argentina briefly occupied the islands they call *Las Malvinas* before being militarily defeated by the British. The Falklands constitute a British Overseas Territory and just over 60 per cent of the 3,200 people on the archipelago are native to the Falklands. The remainder are British stationed there along with very small numbers of other ethnicities. The capital is Port Stanley on the Atlantic side of East Falkland. English on the Falklands has not developed into an independent, focussed variety. It is of a generally southern hemisphere nature and is non-rhotic like other Englishes in that part of the world, but there are features which it does not share with these, for example onset centralization of /ai/ as in *price* [præɪs] (Sudbury 2001, 2004: 410 [6.4.3]).

**false lead** When seeking to determine historical antecedents of overseas varieties it may appear that there is a single identifiable source for a feature. This often masks other sources which might be considered. A case in point is *a*-prefixing as in *They were a-playing in the yard*. Some authors have pointed to parallels in Irish and Scottish Gaelic (Majewicz 1984 [3]) in



which there is a structural parallel; consider the Irish rendering of the English sentence just given: *Bhí siad amuigh ag imirt sa chlós*. [was they out at playing in the yard]. But this obvious parallel would appear to be coincidental. The structure *a-V-ing* is well attested in English during the colonial period, deriving historically from *on V-ing* with phonetic reduction of the preposition *on* much as in *asleep* from an earlier *on sleep*. This may well be the source for those varieties of American English which show this structure, as Montgomery (2000 [5.1.1]) points out.

**family, linguistic variation and the** Parents are obviously the prime transmitters of language to children in very early childhood (caregivers may also play a role if present in the home environment). Whether children then acquire the variation patterns of their parents (and/or caregivers and perhaps older siblings) depends on a number of factors: (i) whether the parents are from the locality in which they live, (ii) if not, how different their speech is from that of local inhabitants, (iii) whether the parents' language variation (phonological, grammatical or lexical) is marked vis-à-vis the norms of the surrounding community and (iv) the degree of identification of children with their home surrounding. See Hazen (2002 [1.1.14]) and Kerswill (1996 [1.1.10]).

**Fanagalo/Fanakalo [fanaka'lo]** A pidgin used above all in the mines of South Africa as a lingua franca. It is often associated with racial discrimination and is hence looked on unfavourably today. Mesthrie (1989 [6.3.1.3]) traces the earliest recorded sentence in this language to an interaction between an English missionary and Xhosa speakers he was trying to convert in 1816. In its initial phases the pidgin grew out of interactions between Europeans and Xhosa or Zulu speakers. Its vocabulary is largely drawn from Zulu, but its structure is very different, resembling a basic kind of English.

**fast speech** A reference to quick delivery in informal contexts. Many instances of change are triggered by fast speech because this invariably leads to phonetic reduction and can cause confusion among speakers, cf. mistaking *would of* for *would have*, for example *I would of [wʊdəv] done that if I were you*. See SLOW SPEECH.

**Federated States of Micronesia, The** A federal island nation in the western Pacific consisting of over 600 islands with a total area of over 700 sq km and a population of approximately 115,000. The islands are independent but are bound to the United States for defence and foreign affairs. English is the official language but different islands have their local Austronesian languages.

**Fens, The** An area of low-lying marshland around the large bay of the Wash on the east coast of England. The region is a juncture between the lower north-east and the east of England (East Anglia); the northern part of the Fens shows a high vowel in the STRUT lexical set and a short /a/ in the BATH set. Contact between traditional dialects from both directions have led to mixtures and levelling which have been investigated in detail by Britain (1997 [1.2.3]). For instance, the centralized diphthongs of the east Fens and the back diphthongs of the west Fens led to a mixed distribution similar to Canadian Raising with [əɪ] before voiceless consonants and [aɪ] before voiced ones. More recent influence of varieties of south-east England has led to a monophthongization in many cases, that is [aɪ] > [a:] along with other vernacular features such as TH-FRONTING. See Britain (1997 [1.2.3]).

**Fernando Po Creole English** Fernando Po Creole English is one of the names under which the English-lexicon Creole of BIOKO Island (formerly called Fernando Po) is known. However, speakers of the language use the designation Pichi or Pichinglis for their language (Yakpo 2009 [6.1.7]). It is closely related to KRIO in Sierra Leone taken to Bioko by Krios during the nineteenth century.

**fieldwork** The process of gaining data on language from informants. Various techniques are used in this sphere, such as tape-recording, filling in questionnaires and completing word-lists, each of which has advantages and pitfalls. *See* FIELDWORK, METHODS and INFORMANT.

**fieldwork, methods** A number of methods for collecting primary linguistic data have been developed over the past century or so. Initially, questionnaires were used – often just for lexical material – sometimes collected by linguists themselves though at times postal questionnaires were used. In traditional dialectology the focus was on older speech (*see* DIALECT GEOGRAPHY and NORM). A breakthrough came in the 1960s with the work of William LABOV who developed the rapid, anonymous interview which avoided the OBSERVER’S PARADOX. Later Labov developed the sociolinguistic interview in which he used certain ploys, such as having the interviewees recount a near death experience, in order to avoid them adopting more standard forms in the interview situation. Other techniques have also been used by other linguists, for example where the linguist is introduced by a friend as a friend to members of a group, thus promoting the use of vernacular forms (used by Lesley Milroy when collecting data on social networks in Belfast). In some cases members of the group or community can do recordings among themselves without any linguist present. There are also ethical issues involved in fieldwork. Permission must always be given by informants for data to be collected and evaluated. Furthermore, recordings must be anonymized by removing names and personal information. *See* Schilling-Estes (2007 [1.1.3]), Sakel & Everett (2012 [1.1.3]).

**figurative** Any use of a word in a non-literal sense, for example *at the foot of the mountain* where *foot* is employed figuratively to indicate the bottom of the mountain. Figurative usage is normally the source of the second meaning of POLYSEMOUS words.

**Fiji** A south Pacific nation, east of Vanuatu, consisting of approximately 300 islands. It experienced ethnic mixing as a result of the colonial presence in previous centuries. The British introduced English to the Fiji islands, but also transported South Asians (speakers of Hindi dialects and related languages from India) as labourers on the plantations there. This led to continuing tension between Indians and the native Fijians who are of original Melanesian-Polynesian stock and speak the Austronesian language Fiji. There was also immigration from nearby Tonga in the nineteenth century. A pidgin developed on the plantations in the nineteenth century (partially through input by Melanesian Pidgin English speakers from other Pacific islands) but it failed to stabilize and was not continued. *See* Siegel (1987 [8.3.4], 1999 [8.3]).

**FILL-FEEL merger** A merger in which there is no systemic length distinction for high front vowels before laterals, hence the homophony of *fill* and *feel* with a somewhat centralized high front vowel. The merger is found in the United States in a band from North Carolina across to north and central Louisiana through eastern Tennessee and northern Alabama. It is also found in a band from north-eastern to central Texas. *See* Labov, Ash & Boberg (2006 [5.1.2]).

**FILM-epenthesis** *See* EPENTHESIS.

**final cluster simplification** A common process in colloquial forms of English whereby consonant clusters are simplified in word-final position, for example *task* [tæs], *best* [bes] (Schreier 2005: 126–197 [1.6]). Such deletions are normally sensitive to style with the greatest amount evident in informal registers. Some varieties, such as African American English, have this as an established feature, and not just a characteristic of fast speech. The extent of deletion can vary with some varieties, such as Cajun English (Dubois & Horvath 2008: 210–211 [5.1.12]). There are frequently specific conditions for deletion, for example in post-nasal, or more generally in post-sonorant, positions, such as *pound* [paʊn], *field* [fi:l], *hard* [ha:r]. This may also occur word-internally, for example *twenty* [tweni], *plenty* [pleni]. The deletion may apply only to voiced consonants, for example *bold* [boul] but *bolt* [boul]. Clusters consisting of three elements are commonly reduced to two, for example *facts* [fæks] or to a single long consonant if a cluster has two similar elements separated by a third, *tests* [tes:]. Instead of cluster simplification there may be devoicing of the final element, thus maintaining the cluster, cf. rural Irish English *beyond* [bi'jɒnt]. On this type of development, see the discussion in Guy & Boberg (1991 [1.6]).

Cluster simplification is found in many second-language varieties of English, especially those spoken in South-East and East Asia, due to the widespread lack of coda clusters in native languages in this large area, for example *fix* [fik], *switch* [swit]. This can even lead to complete deletion, for example *sign* [sar], *pack* [pæ]. Even when not so extreme, simplification can affect grammatical endings leading to homophony among word forms, for example *picked* [pik], *cats* [kæt].

**final devoicing** The voiceless articulation of sounds at the end of words (and possibly syllables). Usually only obstruents (stops and fricatives) are affected by this; that is, sonorants remain voiced. Such devoicing can be found in Bradford (England) and after sonorants (/l/ and /n/) in rural varieties of Irish English.

**first language acquisition** The acquisition of one's mother tongue in the early years of childhood. By the age of six or seven most individuals have acquired full knowledge of the closed classes of their first language, that is the sounds, grammatical categories and syntactic structures, though learning vocabulary (an open class) continues throughout adulthood. One's native language is what one knows best and if this is a non-standard variety then mastery of the standard, usually demanded during schooling and required in public usage, can present not inconsiderable difficulties.

**fixin' to** A structure found in Southern American English which is used to express immediate future action, similar to 'be about to' in other varieties, as in *They were fixin' to sell the house*.

**flaming** The use of insulting language in communication across the Internet, in online chat forums, blogs, unsolicited email messages, and so on. This is thought to result from the absence of social inhibitions which would normally hold in face-to-face contact.

**flap** A sound [ɾ] which is produced by a quick, uncontrolled flick of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. It often appears as an allophone of /r/ or of intervocalic /t/ or /d/, for instance in many forms of American English, cf. *water* ['wɔ:rɾər], *writer* ['raɾər].

**flash language** See SLANG.

**FLEECE lexical set** Those words reflecting the long high front vowel of Early Modern English. This vowel has a variety of sources, Middle English /e:/, e:/ being the main ones (Middle English /i:/ was diphthongized to /ai/ as part of the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT). Examples from this lexical set are *beat*, *beet*, *tree*, *flee*, *meet*. Some recent loanwords also have this vowel, for example *pizza* [pi:tsə].

**FLEECE-KIT merger** A feature found in varieties of English which do not have a phonemic distinction between long and short vowels, forms of Scots or second-language varieties such as BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH spoken by first-language Xhosa or Zulu speakers.

**flora and fauna** An area of vocabulary which generally shows many borrowings from the vocabulary of native languages in varieties outside Britain and Ireland. In general, native terms have been adopted into English when no equivalent existed already, for example *koala*, *kangaroo* in Australian English, *kiwi* in New Zealand English. In some cases the borrowing can be from an earlier European language as in the case of *wildebeest* or *veld* in South African English from Afrikaans.

**Flytaal / Flaaitaal** A type of insider language used by young urban blacks in South Africa. It was originally based on Afrikaans but now has many elements from native African languages and many borrowings from English, the exact combinations varying from region to region. See TSOTSITAAL.

**focal area** A centre in a dialect region in which there is relative uniformity and the speech of which tends to influence that of surrounding areas.

**focus** Any element in a sentence which is given prominence in discourse, usually by raised pitch (in English) or possibly by CLEFTING (shift to the front by alteration of the clause structure) as in *It was Fergal who complained about linguistics*.

**focussing** An historical process whereby a specific variety develops its own linguistic profile. The exact combination of features which go into the making of this is never precisely that of a single input variety. Other processes such as REALLOCATION, LEVELLING or removal of features lead to a unique profile arising which is recognized by the society using it and those who come into contact with it. The development of varieties in the Southern Hemisphere has provided linguists with situations in which the rise of new varieties can be studied more comprehensively than anywhere in the Northern Hemisphere. In particular the contrast between embryonic and focussed varieties can be illuminated by case studies from this area. English on the Falkland Islands (Sudbury 2004 [6.4.3]) and English on Tristan da Cunha (Schreier 2004 [6.4.1]) show how nascent varieties are possibly moving towards clearer profiles by the preference for certain input features or by reallocating or dropping them. In this situation the construction of local identity can be assumed to occur. An issue in variety studies is whether this largely unconscious process, which involves a whole range of social variables of which language is only one, is an EPIPHENOMENON of the choices speakers make for purely linguistic reasons or whether the achievement of a local identity is a goal which is unconsciously pursued by speakers (Hickey 2003 [1.2.6]). Not all cases of embryonic varieties lead to focussing, however. The external

circumstances may militate against this. For instance, on the Bonin/Ogasawara Islands in the western Pacific, English, which was in contact with many languages, would seem to be on the decline after the reversion of the islands, which had been under US control since World War II, to Japan. Most of the younger generation are monolingual Japanese or use mainstream varieties of English (Long 1999: 278 [8.3.7]).

**folk etymology** A process which consists of establishing a semantic relationship between words which sound the same but without any consideration of the etymology of the forms involved, for example Old English *samblind* ‘half-blind’ became reinterpreted as *sandblind* ‘blind from sand’ because *sam* (cognate with Latin *semi* ‘half’) was phonetically similar to *sand* which fits semantically. The same process can be seen in *bridegroom* where *-groom* resulted from a reinterpretation of the obsolete Old English word *guma* ‘man’. Folk etymology may arise when speakers are confronted with a foreign word they do not understand. For instance, in Newfoundland the word *hangashore* comes from Irish *anniseoir* ‘miserable person, wretch’ (with addition of an unetymological /h-/) and the place name *Cape Spear* is a rendering of French *Cap d’Espoir*, lit. ‘cape of hope’.

**folk linguistics** A reference to studies in a popular vein, usually done by amateurs in the field. Such studies are very common for dialects, for example word-lists, collections of sayings, reminiscences of language use and the like. They may be of interest to linguists if they constitute the only documentation for a variety.

**foot** A unit of rhythm which comprises a stressed syllable and any unstressed or weakly stressed syllables to the right of this, that is up to, but not including the next stressed syllable. It can be seen clearly in verse which relies on the foot for its rhythm. For example ‘*When, to the 'ses,sions, of 'sweet 'si,lent 'thought*’ consists of five feet (the line from this Shakespeare sonnet is a hexameter) with five stressed syllables and an irregular number of unstressed syllables (two in the first two feet, one in the fourth and none in the third and fifth foot). The foot is an important phenomenon in so-called STRESSED-TIMED languages like English or German.

**FOOT lexical set** A set of words in which Early Modern English short /ʊ/ is generally retained (contrast this with the STRUT LEXICAL SET, see FOOT-STRUT SPLIT). This sound can be found in words like *push, pull, put, bush, could, should*, that is in a small group of words in which the /ʊ/ was not lowered and unrounded to /ʌ/. There is a phonetic generalization here: after labials and before /l/ or /ʃ/ the /ʊ/ pronunciation is normally found, but there are exceptions, for example *mull, pulpit, bunch, munch*, all with /ʌ/.

**FOOT-STRUT split** A reference to the split of Early Modern English /ʊ/ into [ʊ] and [ʌ]. This happened in the seventeenth century in southern England (but not in the north) with the general unrounding and lowering of /ʊ/, for example in *cut* [kʊt] > [kʌt]. The high vowel was retained in rounded environments, for example before [ʃ], a velarized [ɹ] and sometimes after a labial which is why *push, pull* and *put* still have [ʊ]. In the word *foot* Middle English /o:/ was shifted to /u:/ as part of the Great Vowel Shift, then shortened to [ʊ] but because the shortening took place after the [ʊ] > [ʌ] shift the word was not affected (contrast *blood* [blʌd] in this respect). In local Dublin English the [ʊ] > [ʌ] shift did not take place (as seventeenth-century southern English English had no influence on this vernacular) and so there was no FOOT-STRUT split.

However, an [ʌ]-pronunciation was introduced for STRUT-like words (*cut, cud, done, dove*, etc.) through SUPRAREGIONALIZATION; that is, the local pronunciation without a split was abandoned with the rise of an educated middle class in Ireland, probably in the early nineteenth century, and the English pronunciation of STRUT-like words with [ʌ] was adopted. Hence the split is found in all non-vernacular forms of English in Ireland. In the lexical sets devised by J. C. Wells for his *Accents of English* (Cambridge University Press, 1982 [1]) the keyword illustrating Early Modern English /u/, which later shifted to [ʌ], is STRUT.

**for to infinitives** An older usage in English in which infinitives are preceded by *for+to*. Generally such structures indicate purpose, for example *I went to the shop for to get bread*, and those varieties which retain *for to* infinitives have this type. However, there are some rarer cases where the structure is used in non-purposive contexts, for example *They'll always ask a neighbour for to stay there*.

**FORCE lexical set** A set containing words in which Middle English /o:/ was retained before a tautosyllabic /r/. By and large these words are of Anglo-Norman origin, cf. *court, fort, port, source*, but some are native Germanic words, for example *sore, borne, hoarse*. See NORTH-FORCE DISTINCTION.

**foregrounding** The process of highlighting some element in a sentence. Languages vary in the devices which they provide for this. Increased stress is one common means of foregrounding an element (in English, for instance). Syntactic means include clefting in which the element to be foregrounded is brought to the front of a sentence, for example *It's a new smartphone she got for Christmas*. This type of clefting is especially common in English spoken in Celtic countries (Scotland and Ireland).

**foreign accent** See NON-NATIVE PRONUNCIATION.

**foreign language** A non-native language which is learned consciously by a speaker and which is used intermittently and in fewer contexts than his/her own mother tongue.

**foreigner talk** The view that pidgins derive their grammatical character from the type of speech which native speakers of a language use when communicating with foreigners, for example by simplifying the grammar. This view only partially accounts for features found in pidgins.

**forensic linguistics** A branch of linguistics in which the language of individuals is analysed with a view to providing evidence in legal contexts. See Coulthard and Johnson (2007 [1.1.19]).

**formality** An axis along which language differs in a social context. High degrees of formality are expected in situations of minimum familiarity and maximum social exposure, for example a public lecture or religious ceremony.

**formant** A band in a sound spectrum in which there is a concentration of acoustic energy. Formants are important for the recognition of vowels and sonorants such as /r/ both of which have distinctive formant structures.



**formant analysis** A technique for the analysis of vowel realizations. Because vowels show resonance in the throat and have characteristic configurations of the vocal tract they appear in a spectrogram with individual patterns, each with bands of increased intensity known as formants. The frequency of these formants can be analysed to determine what type of vowel was spoken for a recording. Because the formants of speakers' vowels vary somewhat and because age and gender differences are significant it is necessary to normalize vowel realizations to make statements about such realizations across a group or community of speakers.

**formulaic** Any phrase or expression which is rigid, if not to say invariable, in its structure and which is used as a stereotype, for example *Can't be helped!* (there is no positive form of this expression, \**Can be helped!*), *Have a nice day!*.

**Forth and Bargy** Two baronies in the extreme south-east of Ireland, in Co. Wexford, where a particularly archaic form of English, from the medieval period of settlement in Ireland, was spoken up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. See Hickey (2007a, Section 2 [3.3]).

**fortis** A descriptive label applied to voiceless obstruents. It refers to the relatively high muscular tension which is typical of such sounds. See LENIS.

**fossilization** A reference to a phenomenon in SECOND LANGUAGE acquisition where speakers appear not to progress beyond a certain stage of proficiency, often just that needed for basic communication.

**fossilized** A term referring to any phrase or expression which is non-productive and which does not vary in its form. This applies, for example, to idioms like *topsy turvy* where the words only exist in this combination.

**foundation phase** The initial period with any new variety. In the colonial context those input varieties, which were present during this phase, had a formative influence on the new emerging variety. See FOUNDER PRINCIPLE.

**founder principle** A term used to refer to the influence of early settlers on the development of a variety. The assumption is that those speakers active in the early and formative period of a variety have a decisive influence on its later shape, irrespective of their numbers. Thus the early settlers in North America, the English of the seventeenth century and the Scots and the Ulster Scots of the eighteenth century, had a decisive influence on the formation of later American English, much more than, say, the numerically larger group of nineteenth-century emigrants. The term 'founder principle' was coined by Salikoko Mufwene in an article on creole genesis (see Mufwene 1996 [1.2]).

**Fowler, Henry Watson (1858–1933)** An English lexicographer whose principal work is *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1926; later revised by Sir Ernest Gowers in 1965). This is a loosely structured commentary on English usage and style. Together with his brother he wrote *The King's English* (1906) and *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1911). A third revised edition, under the title *Fowler's Modern English Usage*, was produced in 2004 by the New Zealand lexicographer Robert W. Burchfield. A more recent edition still was published by David Crystal in 2009.



**free, spontaneous** A term which refers to sound change which is not dependent on or triggered by a specific phonetic environment. The reasons for spontaneous sound change lie outside language and are ultimately traceable to social motives.

**free form** A grammatical word which can occur on its own, that is it does not have to be bound to a lexical morpheme for its use. Examples would be the prepositions of English. The opposite is a **BOUND** form which must co-occur with another element, usually a lexical stem for example, the ending *-able in readable*.

**free variation** A term which describes the situation in which two or more allophones can occur in the same phonotactic position, for instance the different types of *r*-sounds in English. The term contrasts with **COMPLEMENTARY DISTRIBUTION**.

**Freiburg corpora** A collective term to refer to a number of corpora, compiled largely in the 1990s at the University of Freiburg in Germany. Two of them were specifically intended as updates of earlier corpora produced at other universities, cf. the *Freiburg Lancaster Oslo Bergen Corpus* (FLOB) and the *Freiburg Brown Corpus* (FROWN). The *Freiburg English Dialect Corpus* (FRED) has been especially valuable in analysing data for traditional varieties in Britain.

**French** A Romance language spoken in France, Canada (Quebec), Belgium (Wallonia), Switzerland (Wallis) and in various former colonies, sometimes in a creolized form, as in Haiti. It is attested from the ninth century onwards and became a major literary language by the late Middle Ages. The standard language is based on the dialect of the Paris region. This and the dialect of Normandy had a significant influence on the lexicon of English in the Middle English period.

**French colonialism** The colonial enterprise as undertaken by France between the early seventeenth and mid twentieth centuries. The earliest overseas settlements of the French were in North America where continuous rivalry with Britain for hegemony until the eighteenth century was notable, *see* CANADA, AMERICAN ENGLISH. In the Caribbean, the French had an early presence on Haiti (starting as the colony of Saint Domingue in 1657, formally recognized in 1697) as well as on many islands of the Lesser Antilles. Of these only Guadeloupe and Martinique remain French possessions. In the Indian Ocean the French had a presence on the SEYCHELLES and MAURITIUS before these were ceded to Britain in 1810. The Comoros declared independence in 1975 but the island of Mayotte is still French as is La Réunion, an island to the west of Madagascar. In the Pacific Ocean the French still have a presence in New Caledonia, east of Papua New Guinea, in French Polynesia, the best known part of which is Tahiti, and in Wallis and Futuna. The French were jointly in control of VANUATU with the British after 1906 until the middle of the twentieth century. In Asia France had trading posts, for example along the east and south-east coast of India in the middle of the eighteenth century but lost these to the British later. In mainland South-East Asia France maintained a very large area known into the twentieth century as French Indochina (*indochine française*). France also had African colonies which covered a vast area of West and North-West Africa and involved contact with English in a number of regions, for example in Cameroon, and many francophone countries border on anglophone ones, for example Benin (west of Nigeria), Sénégal (surrounding The Gambia), Côte d'Ivoire (west of Ghana and east of Liberia). There has also been considerable emigration by French to overseas locations, for example South Africa, *see* HUGUENOTS.

**frequency** The number of waves per second which emanate from an acoustic source such as the vocal folds when vibrating.

**fricative** A type of sound which is characterized by air passing a constriction somewhere between the glottis and the lips, for example [x, s, ʃ, θ, f]. Turbulence arises when air flows through a narrow gap and it is this which causes the noise typical of fricatives. Fricatives can be voiced or voiceless. The equivalent term *spirant* is sometimes found.

**fricatives, voicing in the plural** The voicing of stem-final fricatives in plurals derives from a much earlier intervocalic voicing in Old English, for example *wife* : *wives*, *knife* : *knives* (Lass 1987: 124 [1.5]). Many varieties have regularized this alternation so that a word like *roof* may have a plural *roofs* rather than *rooves*.

**fricativization** A historically common process whereby a stop changes to a fricative by a weakening in articulation. A well-known instance of this is the first (or Germanic) sound shift (see SOUND LAW; compare Latin *pes* with German *Fuss*, English *foot*, the latter two showing that /p/ had shifted to /f/). The term ‘lenition’ is also found for this type of consonant weakening.

**friction** Air turbulence which arises at the constriction formed by a passive and active articulator in the vocal tract, for example the alveolar ridge and the blade of the tongue with /s/.

**frictionless continuant** A type of consonant which is nearest to vowels in that it is formed with virtually no constriction in the vocal tract. Such sounds, typically [j] or [w] or the [ɹ] sound in word-initial position in English, are usually voiced and have greater SONORITY than fricatives produced at the same point of articulation.

**‘friend of a friend’ technique** A technique used by the British linguist Lesley Milroy to gain access to local vernacular networks in Belfast and collect language data within them. It has come to be widely practised in sociolinguistic investigations since. See L. Milroy (1987 [1.1.3]).

**from as temporal conjunction** A use of *from* in the sense of ‘since’ is found in Caribbean creole English, for instance, *From I was a child I do that*. This is quite archaic in English English (Holm 1994: 356 [5.3]), cf. *She’s living here from she was married*.

**front** Any sound, typically a vowel, which has its point of articulation at the palate or further forward in the mouth.

**front vowel** A kind of vowel produced in the front of the mouth, for example [i, e, ε, æ]. The first two or three of these vowels can also occur in rounded form in most of the Germanic languages, but not in English. See BACK VOWELS.

**fronting** (1) A historical process whereby the point of articulation of a sound is moved forward in the mouth, for example the shift of [k] to [ç] and possibly to [tʃ] (with affrication) as has happened with many Romance languages in their development from Vulgar Latin. (2) In syntax this term refers to the movement of some element which is to be highlighted (emphasized,

foregrounded) to a new position at the front of the sentence. *See* CLEFT SENTENCE and DISLOCATION, LEFT/RIGHT.

**fudged dialect** A reference to a dialect which supposedly consists of a mixture of different inputs. It can also be used when referring to the speech of an individual.

**function word** A word which serves the purpose of indicating a grammatical category or relationship. It contrasts with a content word which has lexical meaning.

**fundamental frequency** In any sound wave this is the lowest frequency which can be recognized. *See* FORMANT.

**Funk, Isaac Kaufmann (1839–1912)** An American lexicographer of German extraction. In 1876 he founded a publishing house in New York with Adam Wagnalls and in 1890 began working on *The Standard Dictionary of the English Language* which first appeared in 1893 and which has been continued since as the Funk and Wagnalls dictionary.

**FUR-FAIR merger** A merger which has occurred in some varieties, for example in local Liverpool English and forms of Ulster English, due to the retraction of the FAIR vowel to a central position, approximately [ɜ:].

**Furnivall, Frederick James (1825–1910)** English lexicographer, born in Surrey and educated at London and Cambridge. He is the founder of the *Early English Text Society* (1864) which since its inception has been responsible for the publication of many older texts which were up to then only available in manuscript form in university libraries. He also worked on the *Oxford English Dictionary* in its early stages.

**FURRY-FERRY merger** A merger which has come about by the retraction of the FERRY vowel to a central (rhoticized) vowel, approximately [ɜ:], which is often the realization of the FURRY vowel, for example in Philadelphia English.

# G

**Gaelic** A label used for the languages of the Q-branch of insular Celtic. It is derived from *Gael*, the word for ‘Irish’ in the Irish language. In present-day usage the unqualified term *Irish* refers to Irish Gaelic; *Scottish Gaelic* (or *Gàidhlig* [ga:lɪk] the word for ‘Gaelic’ in Scottish Gaelic) is used for Q-Celtic in Scotland, which has been separated from northern Irish since the late Middle Ages. *Manx Gaelic* refers to the previous form of Gaelic on the ISLE OF MAN which became extinct in the later twentieth century when the last speaker died in 1974.

**Gaelic and Highland English** A term for varieties of English spoken in the north of Scotland either by speakers of Scottish Gaelic or by people whose non-too-distant ancestors used this language. These varieties show the influence of Scottish Gaelic, chiefly in syntax, and are distinct from SCOTS, spoken in the south, east and north-east of Scotland. It is also distinct from SCOTTISH STANDARD ENGLISH.

**Gaeltacht** A collective term for the Irish-speaking districts of Ireland. There are a number of these in contemporary Ireland which are home to the remaining native speakers in historically continuous areas. ‘Gaidhealtachd’ is the equivalent term in Scottish Gaelic used in Scotland.

**Gail / Gayle** A JARGON used by homosexual men in cities in South Africa. Similar to Polari in Britain from which it has borrowed words like *varda* ‘look, see’. It uses female names to camouflage meanings, for example *Priscilla* ‘policeman’.

**gairaigo** A Japanese word meaning ‘loanword’, specifically a fairly recent one, that is not the established Chinese loans in Japanese. Loans from European languages are adapted in their pronunciation to the phonology and phonotactics of Japanese, for example *club* appears as

*kurabu* because the initial cluster /kl-/ is not permissible and /l/ is realized as [r]. Other examples are *daburu* < *double*, *aisu kurimu* < *ice cream*, *janpa* < *jumper* which show the insertion of a final vowel in the Japanese rendering. See McArthur (1998 [1]).

**Gambia, The** A state in West Africa which consists of the estuary and banks of the river Gambia surrounded by francophone Sénégal with which it was politically linked between 1982 and 1989 as the Senegambia Confederation. Its area is 11,300 sq km and the population approximately 1.8 million; the port of Banjul is the capital. Contacts with Britain had existed since the late sixteenth century. The Gambia was a separate colony after 1843 but with close ties to Sierra Leone, gaining its independence in 1965. A pidgin called AKU (closely related to KRIO) is spoken by a few thousand people. The main indigenous language is Wolof (a West African language of the Niger-Congo phylum). On Gambian English, see Peter, Wolf and Simo Bobda (2003 [6.1.1]).

**gap** A vacant position in a paradigm or a missing term in the lexicon. In morphology it is perhaps better not to speak of a gap but of a lack of distinction in a certain category. For instance, English does not have a special personal pronoun for the second person singular but all other European languages do, English having lost the form *thou* (in general usage) in the Early Modern period. This did not so much leave a gap as lead to the use of a single form, *you*, which covers both singular and plural nowadays. See Hickey (2003 [1.6]).

**Gauchat, Louis (1866–1942)** A French-speaking Swiss scholar who in 1905 published a study of language use in the Alpine town of Charmey. He recognized that young people used different phonetic variants from the older generation and that females led in the use of new variants, that is they are the vanguard in change, thus anticipating many of the insights of sociolinguistics as it developed in the 1960s and 1970s. See Gauchat (1905 [1.1.1]).

**geminate** A consonant which is pronounced with perceptible length and which contrasts phonologically with an equivalent sound which does not have this length, for example Swedish *vitt* [vitt] ‘white’ as opposed to [vi:t] ‘knows’. Geminates do not occur in English but are nonetheless common in other languages, for example Italian and Finnish. They are usually indicated by writing the consonant symbol twice. The length mark [ː] is generally only used for vowels.

**gender** A feature of many synthetic languages such as Russian and Latin which group words – nouns and their determiners (articles, pronouns, adjectives) – according to different formal classes. In the Indo-European context these have the traditional names masculine, feminine, neuter, ultimately because of the connection with the sex of humans and animals – though this is not decisive for the gender system. Verbal endings may also be inflected for gender, for example Italian *Le ragazze son’ andate in Italia* ‘The girls have gone.FEM.PLURAL to Italy.’

**gender, feminine for objects** There is a custom in colloquial English of referring to technical objects – cars, ships, planes, and so on – by using the feminine pronoun *she*, for example *She’s a beaut, the new racing yacht*.

**gender, residues of grammatical** In English, grammatical gender has long ceased to exist though masculine and feminine pronouns can be used for reference to inanimate objects

(see GENDER-NEUTRAL LANGUAGE). Occasionally, there are dialect forms which are derived historically from gender-distinctive pronouns, such as /(*ə*)n/ for ‘him/it’ in south-west England, which derives from the masculine accusative of Old English *hine* (Wakelin 1984: 81 [2.1]), for example *Tom saw un* (= ‘him’). Also in this area one can find gendered pronouns used for inanimate objects, for example *Pass the loaf – he’s over there* (Wagner 2012 [1.6]), Ihalainen (1994 [1]).

**gender and language change** A central insight of sociolinguistics in the tradition of William LABOV is that when change is taking place in a community it is frequently young females who form the vanguard of such change. Why young women in Western countries should be the leaders of change is a matter of discussion. It can be observed that young women have a greater sensitivity to language variation and use innovative forms on the one hand to enhance their community status and on the other to project their social persona within their community. Men are more often bound to traditional local norms which can account for why they lag behind their female counterparts when language innovation and change is in progress.

**gender-neutral language** Language which strives to avoid forms which are overtly marked for gender, for example using *chair* rather than *chairman*, *flight attendant* rather than *air hostess*. Traditionally, generic references in English are male, for example *The postman hasn’t been here yet*. However, alternatives are available, for example an inanimate reference like *The post hasn’t arrived yet* or the use of the plural, cf. *Linguists should be careful to use gender-neutral language*.

**General American (English)** A term for a non-regional accent of English in the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA and regarded as a quasi-standard of pronunciation in that country. The basis for it was traditionally the speech of the INLAND NORTH (roughly the band in the north of the United States from the north-west of New York State across to east Wisconsin, including the southern Lower Peninsula of Michigan). In recent decades, however, the speech of this region has become marked by the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT. General American has been used as a baseline for many investigations and descriptions of American English, for example by Kenyon and Knott (1944 [5.1]), Chomsky and Halle (1968 [5.1]), but has been criticized as having no inherent claim to preference over other varieties in the United States.

**generalization** A process in the acquisition of one’s native language where assumptions are made about grammatical structure which are maximally general, refinements and details being added later. For instance, the use by a child of /s/ for all plurals in English would lead to forms like *sheeps*, *mouses* which are not typical of adult language.

**generic** A linguistic item (word, phrase or sentence) which refers to an entire class rather than to an individual or selection of individuals, for example *The poor are deserving of our compassion*.

**genetic classification** The arrangement of languages into groups on the basis of their historically recognizable relationships and not going on similarity in structure. This type of classification makes use of the ‘family’ metaphor and talks, for instance, of ‘parent and daughter languages’. The splitting of languages which occurs over time is interpreted as binary in this model. See WAVE THEORY.

**genitive** A category of inflectional morphology found in most languages (including members of Indo-European) and which typically indicates possession as in *My colleague's new car*. Semantically related concepts such as 'attached to', 'associated with' or 'being a part of' are frequently expressed by the genitive, *Fiona's favourite meal* or *Ireland's west coast*. English has two formal means for expressing the genitive, either with an inflectional *-s* or by placing the modifying element before the head and linking the two with the preposition *of* as in *The colour of the limousine*. The inflectional genitive is sometimes called the 'Saxon genitive' and the type with *of* can be termed the 'analytic genitive'.

**genitive, unmarked** A characteristic of African American English seen in instances like *John hat* for *John's hat* or *Bill car is outside the house* for *Bill car's is outside the house*. Although marking of the genitive is absent this is sufficiently indicated by the position of the first noun immediately before the second (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 382 [5.1], Green 2002: 102–103 [5.1.10] and Mufwene 2001: 295 [5.1.10]). In the history of English there are also some instances of unmarked genitives, for example *Our Lady Chapel*.

**genitive, use of** Variation can occur with the genitive, for example the inflectional genitive may be used with inanimate objects as in *The car's brakes gave going down the hill* (Lass 1987: 148 [1.5]). Such usage is on the increase in present-day English, for example *The computer's hard disk is broken*.

**genre** [ʒɑ̃rə] A category of creative writing which has specifiable structural characteristics, for example a play, epic poem, novel, short story, and so on. A broader definition would also include non-fictional prose, for instance, types of journalist prose, such as newspaper reports, regular columns or glosses or EGO-DOCUMENTS like personal letters, diaries or travel accounts.

**geographical linguistics** A field which examines languages from the point of view of their regional distribution, the type of terrain they occur in, the demographic structure of the areas they occupy and which considers the mutual effects of contact between languages.

**Geordie** The city dialect of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (north-east England) which is unique among British urban dialects in its combination of features: non-rhotic, initial /h/, short /a/ in the BATH LEXICAL SET, clear /l/, final glottalization (spreading). The term is a diminutive of *George*. There is a cline of accents in the city; the most local accent would contain such features as central [a:] for /o:/ or an unshifted /u:/ in words like *town* /tu:n/ (part of the MOUTH LEXICAL SET). The latter word is lexicalized and also used by speakers who generally do not have unshifted /u:/.

**German** A West Germanic language spoken by about 100 million people, mainly in Germany, Austria, Switzerland (Schwyzerdütsch), Liechtenstein, Luxembourg (Letzebuergesch) as well as in small areas of France, Denmark, Belgium, Hungary, Italy, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania and Kazakhstan. It is also spoken by diaspora communities outside Europe, for example in the United States (by the Amish in Pennsylvania), in Brazil and other countries. German is attested from the ninth century onwards and is divided into Low German (usually treated as a separate language) and High German (various dialects).



**German colonialism** After the unification of Germany in 1871 the country developed its overseas colonies in earnest and entered into competition with other European powers for spheres of influence, above all in Africa. To this end the chancellor Otto von Bismarck convened the Berlin Conference (full title: Berlin West Africa Conference) in 1884 and 1885 with representatives from 14 European countries and the United States. Ostensibly regulating the possession of land around the River Congo, the conference was about European powers dividing up Africa among themselves (there were no Africans at the conference). Germany's African colonies included Togoland (present-day Togo), Cameroon, German South-West Africa (present-day Namibia) and German East Africa (roughly the area of present-day Tanzania). German colonialism only lasted for about 30 years as it lost its overseas colonies at the end of World War I, most of which came under English influence (though Togoland, between Ghana and Benin, came under French control). Germany also had colonies in the Pacific, notably Papua New Guinea where a pidgin *Unserdeutsch*, lit. 'Our German', existed for a short time. See AFRICA, THE SCRAMBLE FOR.

**Germanic languages** A set of languages which form a major branch of the Indo-European family. It is now subdivided into two groups, North and West Germanic. In early Germanic history there was also East Germanic, of which Gothic (extinct) is the main representative, and Germanic tribes (the Lombards) were also found south of the Alps. The present-day North Germanic languages are Danish, Swedish, Norwegian (Bokmål and Nynorsk), Faroese and Icelandic. West Germanic consists of German, English, Dutch and Scots (if recognized as a separate language) with AFRIKAANS, a colonial form of Dutch in South Africa, and YIDDISH, the traditional language of East European Jews, a historical form of German considerably influenced by Slavic, mostly in the area of present-day Poland, White Russia and the Ukraine as well as in the United States (now recessive).

**gerund** A noun which is formed from a verb and which represents the action characteristic of the verb, but without specification of tense, mood, person or number. In English such forms are derived by adding the suffix *-ing* to the base of a verb as in *Driving after drinking should be avoided*.

**get, inchoative** A use of *get* in which it signifies the beginning of an action or the initial phase of a state, for example *He's got interested in rugby lately*.

**get passive** A passive construction in which a past form of *get* is used rather than *was*, for example *Fiona got stopped by the police*. This type of passive has been on the increase in varieties of English across the world and is almost universal in colloquial speech.

**Ghana** A West African country bounded in the east by Togo, in the north by Burkina Faso and in the west by Côte d'Ivoire. It has an area of 239,000 sq km and a population of approximately 25 million. The capital Accra is on the southern coast and has a population of about 2.3 million. A few English ships visited the Gold Coast in the 1550s but the English then lost interest. The first trading post on the Gold Coast (the name for the region) was established in 1632 at Kormantin (now Abandze) and more and larger posts were built in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1957 Ghana gained its independence. There is both Ghanaian Pidgin English (Huber 1999 [6.1.4]) and more acrolectal forms spoken above all in Accra (Adjaye 2005 [6.1.4]). English in Ghana is characterized by such features as the lack of

syllable-final /r/, reduced vowel length distinctions and diphthongization of mid vowels (Adjaye 2005: 133 [6.1.4]), hence *go* [go], *take* [tek] are common realizations. According to Adjaye (2005: 118 [6.1.4]) monophthongs are clearly prevalent, particularly with Ewe speakers (about 97 per cent), but both Akan and Ga have some diphthongs (about 14 per cent). There is a general tendency to use SYLLABLE-TIMING (more or less equal length for all syllables in words, whether stressed or unstressed).

**Gibraltar** A British overseas territory at the southern tip of Spain, Gibraltar is less than 7 sq km in size and has a native population of approximately 30,000. It became a British possession with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which concluded the War of Spanish Succession. The local inhabitants speak English and Llanito, a mixture of English and forms of Andalusian Spanish. There are also other ethnic groups in Gibraltar, such as Portuguese, Italian and Maltese, which have contributed elements to LLANITO. There are also small Muslim and Jewish communities in Gibraltar.

**Gilbert, Humphrey (c.1539–1583)** An English navigator who claimed Newfoundland in eastern Canada for the British crown. It was after this event that the anglophone settlement of the island began.

**Giles, Howard** A British communications scientist known in linguistics for his notion of accommodation by which is meant that during social contacts individuals adopt features of others who they regard as worthy of imitation. This idea was applied to linguistics during the 1980s, above all by the British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill.

**Gilliéron, Jules [ʒijerɔ̃, ʒyl] (1854–1926)** A French linguist who was instrumental in the development of modern dialectology and areal linguistics. His main work was an atlas of French dialects which he produced in several volumes at the beginning of the twentieth century and for which he sent out trained fieldworkers to conduct interviews and record the data in a consistent phonetic notation. One of Gilliéron's fieldworkers, Edmond Edmont (1849–1926), travelled in France from 1896 to 1900 and made no less than 700 interviews. The results of his observations, together with those results from Gilliéron and his other assistants, were subsequently published between 1902 and 1910 under the title *Atlas linguistique de la France*.

**Gimson, Alfred Charles (1917–1985)** English phonetician. Gimson was the author of *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (1962, fourth edition 1989 by Susan Ramsaran; the later editions are by Alan Cruttenden and are entitled *Gimson's Pronunciation of English* [2.2]). This became the definitive book on RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION after Daniel JONES' work. Gimson held the same chair of phonetics as did Jones and also revised the latter's pronunciation dictionary of English (the current edition has been edited by J. C. WELLS).

**Glaswegian** A reference to vernacular English spoken in and around Glasgow, Scotland. Popularly called 'Glasgow patter', it has evolved over the centuries amongst the working classes of the city, a group which included many northern Irish immigrants. Essentially, it is a form of urban Scots which developed out of western Lowland Scots with the rise of Glasgow as a major city in the nineteenth century.

**glide** A sound which from the point of view of phonological classification lies between a vowel and a consonant, for example /j/ and /w/ in English. It is formed with little friction and has a high degree of sonority which accounts for why glides are found near the nucleus of syllables. Sometimes called a semi-vowel.

**glide insertion** The addition of a palatal glide after velars and before /a/. This is well attested in English in the north of Ireland, cf. *car* [kjær], *gap* [gjæp]. This feature may well have been more widespread in Early Modern English (found in the Lower South of the United States, Montgomery 2001: 131 [5.1.1]) and have been transported to the Caribbean, cf. as in *gyap* [gjæp] ‘gap’ or *gyaadn* [gjæ:dn] ‘garden’. See Holm (1994: 370 [5.3]).

**glide weakening** A term used to describe the reduction in the second element of a diphthong, for example in Southern American English pronunciations like *five* [fa:<sup>h</sup>v] or colloquial white South African English [fa:<sup>h</sup>n] for *fine*. If the weakening is total then the result is a MONOPHTHONG.

**glides, loss of initial** The initial yod of words like *year*, *yeast* and the initial /w/ of *woman*, *wool* may be lost in south-western counties of England (Wakelin 1984: 75 [2.1]). A different glide from that of standard English may be attested as in East Yorkshire forms like *yane* (*one*), *yance* (*once*) and may also be found more generally in northern England and in Scotland.

**glossary** A list of specialized terms, usually with a simple description of the meanings of the items defined. A glossary is less comprehensive than a dictionary.

**glossolalia** The putative phenomenon of speaking in tongues especially as part of religious rituals. Its precise manifestation is uncertain as it has not been the subject of objective scientific investigation.

**glottal** A term referring to sounds produced at the gap in the vocal folds. Such sounds can either be stops [ʔ] or fricatives [h, fi], voiceless and voiced respectively.

**glottal stop** A plosive formed by closing the vocal folds and then releasing them suddenly. Such a stop occurs as an allophone of /t/ in many forms of English English, cf. Cockney *butter* [bʌʔə]. It is also common in Scottish English and Dublin English.

**glottalization** The use of a glottal stop as a realization of a voiceless oral stop, usually /t/ as in *but* [bʌʔ] or *bottle* [bɒʔ]. Glottalization may occur intervocally or word-finally or both. In some varieties it may be confined to a pre-consonantal position. Glottalization is common in vernacular forms of southern English (Wells 1982: 260–261 [1]) and is also prevalent in Scotland (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 85 [1]) and Northern Ireland. Milroy, Milroy and Hartley (1994: 3 [1.3.2]) remark on the history of the glottal stop (from Western Scotland in the 1860s), suggesting that glottal reinforcement may well have been present in Scots before the seventeenth century as it is also present in Ulster Scots. Glottalization is often regarded as a change from below which has its origins in vernacular speech. Glottalization can be found in varieties which are not necessarily related to those in England with this feature, for example local Dublin English. In RP moderate glottalization appears to be losing stigma, see Fabricius (2002 [2.2]). In urban dialects in Britain glottalization has spread and is common in the speech of young adults.

**glottis** The gap between the vocal folds in one's throat. Air from the lungs escapes through the glottis, often producing friction as in the articulation of /h/. If the vocal folds are drawn closely together so that they vibrate the result is a voiced glottal fricative which can often be heard in a word like *behave* when voicing continues between the vowels.

**GOAT lexical set** A set of words which contain the vowel which developed from Middle English /o:/ by raising during the Great Vowel Shift, for example *approach, float, boat*, etc. The set usually contains vowels from other sources, for example final /-o/, as in *ago*, or /o:/ from earlier /ou/, as in *flow, know*, though dialects may show different reflexes of these various sources.

**GOAT-diphthongization** The pronunciation of the vowel in the GOAT lexical set with a diphthong starting at roughly the point for schwa, that is as [gəʊɪ]. There are intermediary pronunciations, for instance [gouɪ] where the starting point is not centralized, typical of mainstream Irish English (a monophthong, that is [go:ɪ], is indicative of rural accents). Local London English also has a diphthong but with a low starting point, that is as [gʌʊɪ].

**GOOSE lexical set** A set of words which usually contain the vowel from Middle English /o:/ by raising during the Great Vowel Shift, for example *boot, loot, soon*, though some cases go back to loans from French, for example *rude*. A number of the vowels from this source were later shortened and the words containing them now belong to the FOOT LEXICAL SET, for example *took, look* and *room* (the latter not for all speakers).

**GOOSE-fronting** The pronunciation of the vowel in the GOOSE lexical set ever further forward in the mouth. A degree of GOOSE-fronting has always been typical of English in central Scotland and Ulster where the /u:/ vowel is traditionally [ʌ:] (often with shortening leading to homophones like *fool* and *full*, both [fʌl]). GOOSE fronting is typical of advanced metropolitan varieties in Britain and Ireland (London and Dublin) and also of American English, traditionally in the South but it has also been documented elsewhere, for example in varieties in the West. At its greatest degree of fronting the vowel can be almost [y:]. The fact that it is found in so many anglophone locations can be explained by the phonetic bias in favour of such fronting: there is less movement of the tongue to a high, back position and less lip-rounding involved in producing a front vowel rather than a high back vowel.

**Gowers, Sir Ernest (1880–1966)** One of the many unofficial (and frequently self-appointed) authorities on English usage. Gowers was born in London and educated at Rugby and Cambridge where he graduated in classics. At the original request of the English treasury he compiled a book *Plain Words: A Guide to the Use of English* (1948) followed by *The ABC of Plain Words* (1951), the two being combined to *The Complete Plain Words* (1954). He also revised FOWLER's book on English usage.

**gradable** A reference to certain adjectives which can show a degree of quality rather than presence or absence, for instance, 'cold' and 'small' are gradable as one can say 'quite small', 'fairly cold'. This contrasts with non-gradable adjectives such as 'married', 'dead', and so on.

**grammar** A level of linguistics which is concerned with the manner in which words combine structurally to form sentences. In this sense grammar is a descriptive phenomenon. It can

also be used to refer to speakers' knowledge of how to produce well-formed sentences in which case it is an ability, that is speakers' competence in their native language.

**grammar, rhetorical** A type of grammar which was especially popular in the eighteenth century. Such grammars were aimed at a general audience and were prescriptive in character as the entire title of the following typical example shows: Sheridan, Thomas, *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language Calculated Solely for the Purpose of Teaching Propriety of Pronunciation and Justness of Delivery, in that Tongue* (1781). Grammars in this vein were written by other language commentators of this era such as William Kenrick and John WALKER.

**grammar writing by women** The eighteenth century saw the publication of a number of grammars by women, usually for educational purposes. Among the best known of these authors is Ann Fisher who in 1745 published *A New Grammar: being the most easy guide to speaking and writing the English language properly and correctly... Designed for the Use of Schools*. Other grammars include the following: Elizabeth Elsbob, *Rudiments of Grammar, for the English-Saxon Tongue* (1715); Ellen Devis, *The Accidence, or First Rudiments of English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Young Ladies ... By a Lady* (1775); Lady Eleanor Fenn, *The Mother's Grammar. Being a continuation of the child's grammar* (1798); Jane Gardiner, *The Young Ladies' English Grammar; adapted to the different classes of learners* (1799). There were also similar works intended for the education of women, for example Hester Lynch Piozzi's *British Synonymity; or, an Attempt at Regulating the Choice of Words in Familiar Conversation* (1794).

**grammar writing in England** There is a tradition of writing grammars in England which goes back several centuries. For instance, the Elizabethan dramatist Ben Jonson (1572–1637) is the author of *An English Grammar* (published posthumously in 1640) written 'for the benefit of all strangers'. Some of the works were in Latin such as John Wallis' *Grammatica linguae anglicanae* 'Grammar of the English language' (1653) which was very popular and went through many editions for about a century. In the eighteenth century the number of published grammars mushroomed with the increase in the market for such works. Most of these works were prescriptive, that is attempted to lay down rules of supposed correct usage. Robert LOWTH is the best known of such authors; Lindley Murray and Joseph Priestley are others who wrote in the same vein (PRESCRIPTIVISM). See Tieken-Boon van Ostade (ed., 2008 [1.5]).

**grammatical** A term specifying whether a sentence, phrase or form is judged by native speakers to be well formed in their language. Note that 'grammatical' and 'correct' are two different terms. The latter refers to whether structures or words are deemed right in some externally imposed sense. However, a structure or word is judged grammatical if the majority of speakers accept it and would use it, that is the notion is usage-based. Many so-called 'correct' forms are not in fact used by speakers, for example the inflected form *whom* as an oblique relative pronoun, as in *The man whom Fiona was talking to*, which is no longer found in spoken English.

**grammaticalization** A historical process in language involving a change in the status of words from lexical to grammatical, frequently due to SEMANTIC BLEACHING (loss of lexical meaning). For instance, the (archaic) adverb *whilom* 'formerly, erstwhile' derives from an Old English dative plural *hwilom* 'at times' which with time was not felt to be an inflected noun but an adverb. This came to be increasingly interpreted in a subjective manner and developed the

meaning of ‘although’. The purely temporal meaning can be seen in a sentence like *Fiona drank tea while she was waiting*. The more ‘subjective’ concessive meaning is obvious in a sentence like *While Fiona is interested in linguistics she still likes literature*. Metaphorical uses of language can lead to grammaticalization as is the case with *go* to express the future: the locative sense of the verb came to be interpreted in a temporal sense, that is from sentences like *Fiona is going to Dublin* (she is on her way now), purely temporal, metaphorical usages like *Fiona is going to learn Spanish* developed.

**Great Migration** A reference to the internal migration of several million African Americans from the rural South to the North-East, North and West of the United States in the first two thirds of the twentieth century. In the early phase, from about 1910 to 1930, most people migrated to the industrial centres of the North and Midwest. In the second phase, from about 1940 to 1970, the population was more mixed (rural and urban) and their destinations included many locations in the West, above all California. This phase is taken to have involved five million or more people. See Anderson (2008 [5.1.10]).

**Great Vowel Shift** A major change in the system of long vowels in the history of English which began in the late Middle Ages and which reached its present stage (for standard English) in the late modern period. It is basically a raising of long vowels by one level. Front vowels shifted from /ɛ:/ to /e:/ (and later to /i:/ in many cases) and back vowels moved correspondingly, that is /ɔ:/ to /o:/ and /o:/ to /u:/. This explains why the words *meat* (with an original /ɛ:/) and *meet* (with an original /e:/) are both pronounced with an /i:/ in present-day English and why *boat* (with an original /ɔ:/) is pronounced with /əʊ/ (from early modern /o:/) and why *boot* (with an original /o:/) is now pronounced with /u:/. The two original high vowels /i:/ and /u:/ were diphthongized to /ai/ and /au/ respectively which explains the modern pronunciations in the words *bite* (with an original /i:/) and *bout* (with an original /u:/). There was no discernible internal reason why this change should have developed as it did. Instead, there must have been an external motivation: a close realization of long mid-vowels, or a slight diphthongization of high vowels – whichever occurred first – arose and spread in southern English. And so a development was initiated which has not since ceased as shown by Cockney, which has shifted the vowel values further than RP.

**Great Vowel Shift, reflexes of the** There are many conservative varieties which have not undergone the Great Vowel Shift in its entirety; for instance the raising of Middle English /ɛ:/ and /e:/ to /i:/ is not found in all varieties of Irish English, that is the words *meat* and *mate* may be homophones. Frequently, the unraised vowels are used in certain words to achieve a colloquial effect, as in many varieties of Irish English (Harris & Milroy 1980 [1.6]). The undiphthongized realization of original /u:/, as in /hu:s/ for /haus/ *house*, is typical of local dialects in Scotland which have a short vowel (on Scots, see McClure 1994: 49 [3.1]) and the far north of England, cf. /tu:n/ (for *town*) as a local reference to NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. The lack of diphthongization may also apply to the high front vowel /i:/ (Trudgill 1990: 21–22 [2.1]). The unshifted vowel values do not appear in overseas varieties even though they would have been present in the formative years in the speech of many settlers, that is those of Northern English, Scottish or Irish origin.

**Grenada** An island state in the South-East Caribbean with an area of 344 sq km and a population of approximately 110,000. Columbus visited the island in 1498. The island was ceded



to Britain in 1783 and it became a colony in 1877. Grenada became independent of the United Kingdom in 1974. English is the official language, but about a third of the population speak an English-based creole widely used throughout the Lesser Antilles.

**group genitive** A type of genitive construction where the inflectional *-s* is suffixed to an entire noun phrase rather than to a single noun, for example *The president of Ireland's new hat*.

**Guam** An island in the Western Pacific forming an unincorporated territory of the United States, the largest and most southerly of the Mariana Islands. It has an area of 541 sq km and a population of approximately 160,000. The United States gained control of the island at the end of the Spanish–American War in 1898. English and Chamorro (a Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian phylum) are official languages. Filipinos constitute a sizeable minority on the island (about 26 per cent).

**guided** A term describing acquisition of a second or further language. The guidance implied is usually offered by teachers as opposed to the unfiltered input from parents and siblings in first language acquisition.

**Gullah** An English-based creole, now only spoken by African Americans on the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia and in the marshy coastal region of these southeastern states. It has many similarities with African American English and is closely related to Caribbean creoles due to emigration in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: in 1670 British colonials and African slaves moved from Barbados and landed at Charleston in South Carolina. The slaves were put to work on local plantations and continued their form of English, later known as *Gullah* or *Sea Island Creole*. In present-day African American English Gullah occupies a special position: it is spoken in a relatively isolated part of the country (without urban forms) and its source is well known, given the transportation of African slaves to this region. Gullah shares many grammatical structures with other forms of African American English, notably aspectual distinctions, for example *They bin come* ‘They had come’ (remote past), *They duh come* ‘They come regularly’ (*do*-habitual, also found on Barbados), *They done sold the car* ‘They have sold the car now’ (perfective). Many words in Gullah are probably of African origin (see Turner 1949 [5.1.10.3]), and a few have entered general English, for example *juke* ‘raucous, bawdy’, found in *jukebox*. See Hancock (1980 [5.1.10.3]), Montgomery (ed., 1994 [5.1.10.3]), Mufwene (2008 [5.1.10.3]), Weldon (2008 [5.1.10.3]).

**Guyana** A country on the Caribbean coast of South America with an area of 215,000 sq km and a population of approximately 800,000 of whom about 350,000 live in and around the capital Georgetown. The area of Guyana was discovered by Columbus in 1498 and settled by the Dutch in the sixteenth century. The Dutch colonies were ceded to the British in 1815. In 1966 the country gained its independence from the United Kingdom. The official language is English. An English-based creole (Guyanese) is spoken by about 60 per cent of the population. Its vocabulary contains items from English, Dutch and native languages.



# H

**/h/, lack of word-initial** The lack of an initial glottal fricative in words like *bat*, *hill*, *hide*. This is a widespread feature of urban English English (Wells 1982: 253–226 [1]); it would seem to have a long history although it is not generally attested in present-day forms of English overseas, though there are exceptions. In New Zealand *h*-deletion existed in the nineteenth century but was removed due to prescriptive education (Gordon 2012 [8.2]). In Newfoundland English of South-West ancestry, the /h/ is variably deleted (Clarke 2010: 47–48 [5.2.8]). Indeed there may be survivals of initial /h-/ , which has been lost elsewhere, as in *hit* in Appalachian English and Outer Banks English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 364 [5.1]) which is also attested for Ulster Scots. Those varieties which have *h*-dropping may also show HYPERCORRECTION as in /hɒbvɪəs/ for *obvious*. Furthermore, there may be variation in the use of initial *h* in words like *humour* and *herb* even in generally *h*-pronouncing varieties (Trudgill 1990: 27–28 [2.1]). See H-DROPPING.

**habitual** An aspectual type referring to an action repeated at regular intervals. It does not have a formal expression in standard English but the simple present has habitual meaning as seen in *The government introduces its budget every spring* versus *The government is introducing its budget this week*. Many varieties use a form of unstressed *do* to express the habitual as in *He does be worrying about his job* (Irish English). The form *be* as an auxiliary (inflected or uninflected) is also found in this function, for example *He be worrying about his job* (African American English). Table 9 shows the exponence of the habitual in varieties of English.

Some varieties, such as vernacular Southern Irish English, can distinguish between a durative habitual and an iterative habitual. The former (durative habitual) refers to a repeated action which takes some time and is expressed via *do + be + V-ing*, for example *They do be fishing on the lake* while the latter (iterative habitual) refers to a short repeated action, for example *I calls me little one the baby*. (Hickey 2007b, Chapter 4 [3.3]). See ASPECT.

**Table 9** Classification of habitual aspect types.

Structure	Example	Comment
Suffixal -s on lexical verb stem	<i>I meets my sister on a Friday afternoon.</i>	This usage is most frequent in the first person singular (and plural where the discourse demands this).
Suffixal -s on <i>be</i> or uninflected <i>be</i>	<i>The men bees at home at the week-ends.</i>	Northern Irish English; Newfoundland English.
Suffixal -s on <i>be</i> or uninflected <i>be</i> , with the lexical verb in the progressive form	<i>He be(es) out working in the fields most days.</i>	Uninflected <i>be</i> is typical of African American English.
Suffixal -s on <i>do</i> or uninflected <i>do</i> plus <i>be</i> , with the lexical verb in the progressive form	<i>He does/do [də] be buying and selling old cars.</i>	Uninflected <i>do</i> is found in south-eastern Irish English. Various forms of Caribbean English.
Suffixal -s on <i>do</i> followed by the lexical verb	<i>He does work in the garden a lot.</i>	Barbadian English has invariant <i>does</i> /dʌz/. Uninflected <i>do</i> is found in south-western English English.

**habitual keep** A reference to a use of the verb *keep* for evaluative comments in discourse. *Keep* here refers to a repeated action, for example *She keeps sending me postcards*, *He keeps changing jobs*, *They keep losing their computer files*.

**hagiolect** A specific variety used for religious purposes, for example High German among the Amish population in Pennsylvania or Latin in Europe before the introduction of vernaculars for religious services. The term derives from Greek *hagios* ‘saint’.

**Halliwell, James Orchard (1829–1889)** An English author known for *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, published in 1847. He was also a biographer of Shakespeare.

**haplology** The omission of a sound or entire syllable if it is followed by a sound or syllable which is similar if not identical (and usually unstressed), for example *library* /laɪbrəri/ > /laɪbri/. Haplology applies particularly to /l/- and /r/-sounds and does not usually affect inflections.

**HAPPY-tensing** Supraregional Southern English English, especially RP, can show a lax high front vowel in final position in this set, cf. [hæpɪ] for *happy*. However, the vowel can also be tense, that is [hæpi], a fact which has led linguists to assume that the former lax vowel has undergone tensing (hence the current label). But in many other dialects, for example in Ireland and North America, the tense vowel is basically the only realization found, so to speak of tensing would be otiose (and historically inaccurate). See Wells (1982: 257–258 [1]) and Harrington (2006 [2.2]).

**‘hard words’** A term used in previous centuries for non-native words in English vocabulary, particularly where the meaning is not obvious from the form, for example *diligent* for *hard-working*, *myopic* for *short-sighted*. This includes many Romance words which entered English from the Middle English period onwards and borrowings from the classical languages

Latin and Greek, especially in the fields of science and technology. The term would appear to have been used for the first time in the title of John Day's glossary *A gatherynge of certayne harde wordes in the newe Testament, with their exposicion* (1551) – a translation of a French work in which the reference 'hard words' renders the expression *mots difficiles* contained in the title of the original work.

**Hart, John (d.1574)** Author of *An orthographie of English* (1569) which contained the first suggestion for a spelling reform of English to bring the orthography into line with the then contemporary pronunciation.

**Haugen, Einar (1906–1994)** American linguist of Norwegian background known for his work on the Norwegian language in the United States, for his analysis of standard languages and of borrowing as well as for an authoritative history of Scandinavian languages and a Norwegian–English dictionary. See STANDARDIZATION.

**Hawai'i** The archipelago of Hawai'i lies in the central Pacific and consists of eight main islands with an area of approximately 11,000 sq km and a population of about 1.38 million. The capital is Honolulu on O'ahu with a metropolitan population of about 955,000. Hawai'i was originally settled by Polynesians whose descendants still speak Hawaiian. James Cook visited the islands in 1778 and after this they were known as the Sandwich Islands. Immigration from the Philippines (of Tagalog and Ilocano speakers), from Japan, China and Portugal rendered the ethnic composition of the archipelago more complex. Chinese and Japanese workers were largely responsible for forming Hawai'i Pidgin English on the plantations in the late nineteenth century. Before its annexation by Americans in 1898 the majority were speakers of Hawaiian but their numbers today have declined to some few thousand, though it is difficult to determine this as levels of competence vary. In 1959 Hawai'i became the fiftieth state of the United States. English and Hawaiian are co-official languages in the state of Hawai'i. American English is the dominant variety of English. Note: the single left quote before the final <*i*> in the name, called '*okina*', stands for the glottal stop (stemming from an original /k/) before this vowel in the native pronunciation of the name. See Sakoda & Siegel (2008a [8.3.6], 2008b [8.3.6]).

**Hawai'ian Pidgin English** A pidgin, and probably a creole, which developed in the ethnic mix on the nineteenth-century plantations of Hawai'i. It contains elements from the various immigrant languages (see HAWAI'I) and many grammatical features which could stem from non-standard English input, for example punctual *never*, *fo* (< *for*) as an infinitive marker. More creole-like features are the lack of copulative *be* and the use of *stay* for a temporary location or state, for example *Da car stay on da street* 'The car is on the street'. See Roberts (1995 [8.3.6], Roberts 1998 [8.3.6]).

**H-dropping** A feature which is endemic in most urban varieties of English English. It consists of deleting the initial /h/ of words. This can lead to hypercorrect forms like /hɒnə/ for *honour* or /hɒbvɪəs/ for *obvious*. H-dropping probably goes back several centuries as a case like the hypercorrection embedded in the expression *to eat humble pie* would indicate. The qualifier of *pie* was originally *umble(s)* 'entrails' and the /h/ was most likely inserted by speakers who had H-dropping natively (like a folk etymology, the meaning 'humble' also works in this expression). The nineteenth century saw an increased concern with H-dropping which spawned a number of publications such as E. A. S. Eccles,

*Harry Hawkins' H Book* (London, 1879), Hon. Henry, H., *Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse* (London, 1854–1866), A. Leach, *The Letter H. Past, Present, and Future* (London, 1881). See /H/, LACK OF WORD-INITIAL.

**head** The centre of a phrase or sentence which is possibly qualified by further optional elements; in the phrase *these bright new signs* the head is *signs* as all other elements refer to it and are optional. The term is also used in lexicology to refer to the central element of a compound; in *family tree*, the element *tree* is head and *family* is modifier.

**headline** A reference to the use of short pithy phrases, generally formulated in such a way as to fit into the allotted space of a headline in a large font size, for example *Scam boss gets life*, that is ‘The leader of a credit card fraud network is sentenced to life imprisonment.’

**‘Heartland’ English** A general reference to varieties of English spoken in the MIDWEST of the United States. See Frazer (ed., 1993 [5.1.5.1]) and Murray & Simon (eds, 2006 [5.1.5.1]).

**hedge** A device, used in conversation, which serves the purpose of weakening or mitigating the force of a statement or question, for example *He's not up to scratch, I suppose. She won't leave us, surely. They're not selling the house, are they?*

**height** The relative distance of a vowel from the roof of the mouth. Hence /i/ and /u/ are high vowels while /æ/, /a/ and /ɑ/ are low vowels because of their relatively open articulation.

**Helsinki Corpus of English Texts** The first large-scale historical corpus of the English language compiled by a team of scholars in Helsinki and released in 1991. It consists of over 240 short texts illustrating all periods and genres of the English language and provided the impetus for many later historical corpora.

**Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots** A corpus of texts documenting the oldest stages of Scots, compiled at the University of Helsinki during the 1990s.

**heteronym** Any set of words which are different in their meaning and pronunciation but identical in spelling, for example *tear* (a verb) and *tear* (a noun). See HOMOGRAPH.

**heteronymy** The orientation of local varieties towards a specific supraregional variety of language, often outside the region's or country's borders. For instance, similar varieties of English are spoken along the unmarked border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. However, those on the north side are heteronomous with supraregional Northern Ireland English while those to the south are heteronomous with supraregional Irish English in the Republic of Ireland.

**heterorganic** Sounds which are not articulated at the same point in the vocal tract, for example /t/ and /k/.

**hiatus** The point of contact between two vowels, for example *triad* [traɪ + əd]. An approximant can develop here, that is a less vowel-like link between the two vowels, for example *flyer* [flaɪə(r)]. After back vowels the approximant is usually [w], cf. New Zealand English *grown* [grəʊwən].

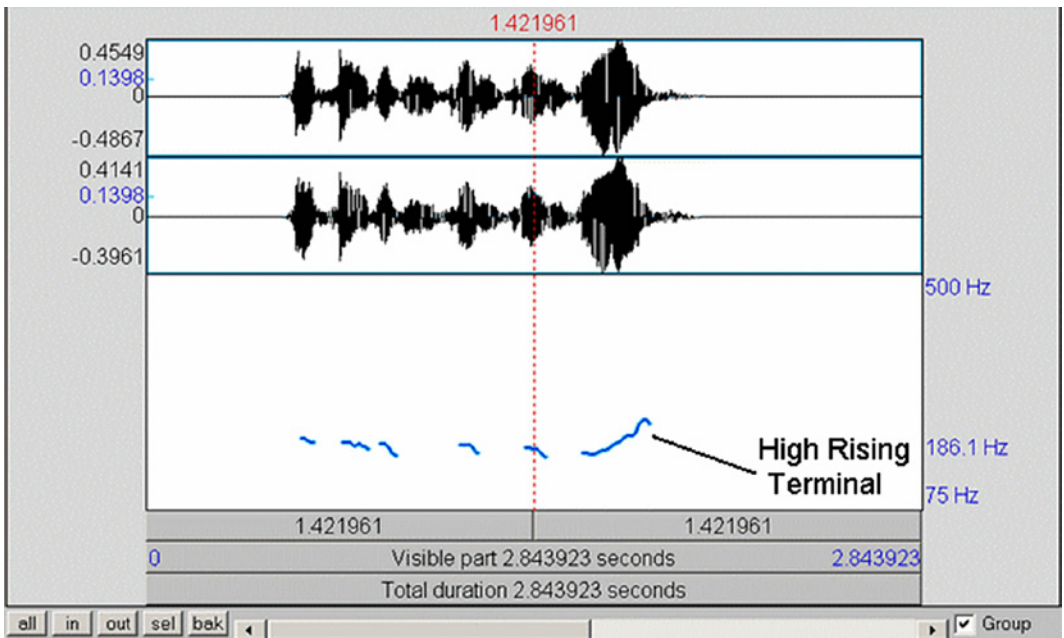
**Hiberno-English** A Latinate term for Irish English used previously and still occasionally found. It derives from Latin *Hibernia* 'Ireland'. See IRISH ENGLISH and Hickey (2007b, Chapter 1 [3.3]).

**hierarchy** (i) In linguistics, an order of elements from the most central or basic to the most peripheral, for example a hierarchy of word classes in English would include nouns and verbs at the top and elements like adjectives and adverbs further down with conjunctions and subordinators still further down. The notions of top and bottom are intended in a metaphorical sense. (ii) The term can also refer to a vertical organization of groups in society in terms of prestige and status.

**high-contact varieties** Forms of English which have been, and may still be, in close contact with each other. A binary distinction is sometimes made between high-contact and low-contact varieties, with this fact held responsible for many structural features.

**Highlands** The mountainous central and northern part of Scotland. This area was Gaelic-speaking longest (along with the Western Islands) and English spoken there is somewhat closer to standard English than that spoken in the Central Belt and the lowlands (the area immediately north of the Scottish–English border).

**high-rising terminal** A frequent feature of colloquial varieties of English in many parts of the world. It manifests itself as a rise in intonational contour towards the end of declarative



**Figure 2** High-rising terminal in sentence *I think it's just his style* (20-year old female Dublin speaker).

sentences (see Figure 2) which makes them sound like questions (often referred to as ‘uptalk’). American and/or Australian English (Burchfield 1994: 10 [1.5]) are frequently mentioned as sources for this feature. Belfast English (east Ulster English) would seem to have this feature independently of external sources.

**Hindi** The major Indo-European language in present-day India and the main member of the Indo-Aryan sub-branch of Indo-Iranian. It is used by some 500 million people, chiefly in northern India but also, due to transportation and emigration, in Fiji, South Africa (BHOJPURI), the Caribbean as well as in Britain. Hindi is attested from the seventh century CE onwards and is a development of later forms of Sanskrit (the early classical form of Indo-Aryan). It is closely related to Urdu (an important Indo-Aryan language in Pakistan), which is associated with Islam and which contains many Arabic and Persian words as a consequence.

**Hindi belt** A large region in northern and north-central India encompassing about one third of the country’s population, also known as the Hindi Heartland. It shows the greatest concentration of Hindi speakers and, although there are different definitions, it is taken to include the following states: Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.

**Hispanic English** A term used by Wolfram, Carter & Moriello (2004 [1.2.6]) when investigating the language of an emerging Hispanic community outside the more established areas of the United States with Hispanic communities such as the South-West, southern Florida or New York. Their investigation looks at the rise of permanent Hispanic communities in the mid Atlantic South.

**Hispanics** A reference to people in the United States who are either Spanish-speaking or have a Spanish-speaking background from a Central American or Caribbean country. Latino is also found as a reference to the same groups, but the latter term may be used more widely, for example to refer to anyone of Central or South American origin and not just with a Spanish-speaking background.

**historic present** The use of verbs in the present tense for the purpose of heightening the relevance or interest of the narrative, for example *So I’m sitting there minding my own business and in he comes....*

**historical linguistics** The study of how languages develop over time as opposed to viewing them at a single point in time. This was the major direction in linguistics up until the advent of structuralism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**historical sociolinguistics** An approach to the history of languages which applies the insights and models of present-day sociolinguistics to historical analysis, for example social networks or communities of practice. See Romaine (1982 [1.5]), Milroy (1992 [1.5]), McColl Millar (2012 [1.5]).

**history, oral** A reference to spoken information collected, usually by museums, libraries or university departments of folklore or anthropology, to document some

element of history, for example a professional occupation (trades and crafts), an event of importance, domestic practice, etc. With the development of audio technology in the twentieth century much information was collected by tape-recording speakers. Oral histories are stored as audio files, catalogued and administered by institutions just like written documents. These documents are of interest to linguists for the insights they offer into local dialect and the earlier stages of varieties. See Thompson (2000 [1.5.2]) and Jeffrey & Edwall (eds, 1994 [1.5.2]).

**H-language** A label used for that language in a diglossic situation which is used on formal occasions, for example modern literary Arabic in Arab countries or standard German in German-speaking Switzerland. The H-language need not be related to the L-language, for example in Paraguay where this is Spanish but the L-language is a native American language Guaraní. *See* L-LANGUAGE.

**h-less** A reference to varieties of English which do not have an /h/-sound in initial position; this applies to most urban dialects in present-day Britain. *See* H-DROPPING.

**hoi-toiders** *See* OCRACOKE BROGUE.

**Hokkien** A Chinese language spoken mainly in the south-east of China (Fujian), in Taiwan and by Chinese Singaporeans, though for the latter Mandarin has become the preferred form of Chinese. ‘Hokkien’ is a Min Nan word corresponding to Mandarin ‘Fujian’.

**Home Counties** A collective term for the counties adjoining wholly or in part on the city of London or generally in the south-east of England, that is Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex.

**Homestead Phase** A period at the beginning of the anglophone Caribbean between the 1620s and the mid seventeenth century before the large-scale importation of slaves from West Africa began. Because the English population consisted of regional speakers from Britain and Ireland it may well be that features of their dialects established themselves and were adopted by the black slaves when these were taken to the Caribbean. *See* FOUNDER PRINCIPLE.

**homograph** Any two (or more) words which are written the same, though the pronunciation may be different, for example *lead* (verb) and *lead* (noun).

**homonym** Any set of words which share their form but have different meanings, for example *see* ‘to perceive visually’ and *see* ‘location of a cathedral’. The formal similarity is an accident of phonological development and the forms do not share a common historical root; this contrasts with POLYSEMY. *See also* HOMOPHONY, AVOIDANCE OF.

**homophone** *See* HOMOPHONY.

**homophony** Sameness of pronunciation with two words, for example *toe* and *tow* or *paw* and *pore* /pɔ:/ (forms of RP). Usually homophony arises because two originally different pronunciations develop into the same new sound, for example the /e:/ in *tail*, *sail* (from earlier /ai/) and *tale*, *sale* from earlier /a:/.



**homophony, avoidance of** A reason often put forward for language change, for example the adoption of the Kentish pronunciation of the word for vessel, *vat*, because the London pronunciation was *fat*, homophonous with the adjective *fat*. However, there are as many exceptions to this account for language change; consider the large number of homophones in present-day English, for example *meet*, *meat*; *bear*, *bear*; *pier*, *peer*; *see*, *sea*.

**homorganic** Any set of sounds which are articulated at the same point in the vocal tract, for example the sounds in the syllable-coda of *mind* /maɪnd/ both of which are alveolar.

**Honduras** A Central American state, bordered on the south by Nicaragua and to the north and west by Guatemala and San Salvador, with an area of 113,000 sq km and a population of about 8.3 million. Spanish is the official language, but English is spoken on the north-east coast, an extension of the Miskito region of Nicaragua.

**Hong Kong** A former British colony in southern China in the province of Guangdong (Canton). Hong Kong Island came under British rule in 1848 with the regulations of the Treaty of Nanking. The mainland New Territories were leased to Britain in 1898 for a period of 99 years. In the Sino-British declaration of 1984 it was agreed that Hong Kong be restored to China after the expiry of the lease in 1997. From the 1970s onwards, English and Chinese were both declared official languages in Hong Kong, but from the 1990s onwards the Hong Kong government has followed a policy of ‘trilingualism and biliteracy’, which recognizes spoken Cantonese, English, and Putonghua (Mandarin), and written Chinese and English. English is spoken as a first language by only 3.5 per cent of the population, compared to a total of 89.5 per cent for Cantonese (figures from the 2011 government census). However, English is spoken by some 43 per cent of the community as a second language, and plays an important role in written communication and international trade. It is an important language in secondary education and at the seven major universities, as well as other tertiary institutions. English is also used as a lingua franca between Chinese and non-Chinese. There have been investigations of the pronunciation of English by Cantonese speakers living in Hong Kong, for example Deterding, Wong & Kirkpatrick (2008 [7.3.1]) which found that there were key areas of non-standard pronunciation including initial TH, consonant clusters, L-vocalization, sonorant conflation (involving [n] and [l] – a unique Hong Kong feature deriving from Cantonese) as well as non-native-like vowel values along with unusual rhythm and sentence stress. On the level of lexis Chinese (usually Cantonese) words are found in Hong Kong English, such as *taipan* ‘business executive’ or *pak Choi* ‘type of cabbage’, as are CALQUES such as *dragon boat*. Abbreviations are also common, for example *legco* ‘legislative council’, as are lexicalized expressions such as *short week* ‘week without work on Sunday’. See Wright & Holmes (eds, 1997 [7.3.1]), Bolton (ed., 2002 [7.3.1]), Setter, Wong & Chan (2010 [7.3.1]). See CHINA, ENGLISH IN.

**honorific** Specific language used to express deference in a social context. This can encompass special pronominal forms (T- and V-forms in continental European languages) and titles (Mr, Mrs, Ms, and so on in English) or special adjectives (*honourable*, *reverend*, *esteemed*, *esquire*).

**Hoosier Apex** An enclave of southern speech in lower Indiana. This dialect anomaly (Carver 1987: 174 [5.1.2]) is probably due to internal migration leading to an encroachment of Upper Southern speech (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 121 [5.1]). The term ‘Hoosier’, pronounced [hu:zɜːr], is also used for inhabitants of Indiana. A similar Missouri Apex is sometimes posited for the state of that name.

**HORSE-HOARSE merger** See NORTH-FORCE DISTINCTION.

**‘hot news’-perfect** See PERFECTIVE, IMMEDIATE.

**Huguenots** Members of the reformed Protestant church in France who were subject to repeated persecution during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some 200,000 left France and settled in other countries which tolerated their form of religion. German Protestant principalities and Scandinavian countries took in Huguenots as did England and Ireland (encouraged to do this by the English authorities). They also settled overseas in North America and South Africa, contributing not insignificantly to the ethnic diversity of these countries.

**Humber–Ribble line** An imaginary line drawn in northern England from the mouth of the River Humber in the east on the North Sea coast to that of the River Ribble near Preston in Lancashire in the west. These rivers are seen as a natural border between the central and far north of England and a number of traditional ISOGLOSSES run along the line (Wales 2006: 18–20 [2.10]).

**[hVd] template** A sound frame used when examining vowels in varieties of English. The advantage here is that COARTICULATION effects are minimized by the preceding [h] which would always share the oral configuration of the following vowel; the following [d] in nearly all cases has no effect on the vowel either. This template can be used to capture the majority of English vowel contrasts, cf. *heed, head, had, howed, hood, hide*, and so on.

**hyperbole** Language which is characterized by exaggerated expressions, for example *There were tons of sandwiches left over*. Often abbreviated to *hype* and regarded as particularly typical of public language used in today’s commercial society, cf. the use of terms like *super, hyper, mega, giant* to describe products.

**hypercorrection** A linguistic situation in which speakers overgeneralize a feature or structure which they do *not* have in their native variety. For example, if some northern English speakers pronounce *butcher* /bʊtʃə/, with the vowel in *but*, that is as /bʌtʃə/, then this would be hypercorrection as they would not have /ʌ/ in their own VERNACULAR and, in an effort to speak standard English, over-apply the /ʊ/-to-/ʌ/ shift. If this happens in an entire community during ACCOMMODATION, then one can speak of hyperadaptation.

**hyperdialectalism** A phenomenon in dialects in which forms arise due to the incorrect application of a distinguishing feature by speakers who no longer have a full command of traditional dialect, for example the following extension of the /de:z/ pronunciation to words with /æɪ/ originally (taken from Trudgill 1986: 68–69 [1.2.3]).

	London	Norwich
<i>days</i>	/dæɪz/	/dæɪz/ > /de:z/
<i>daze</i>	/dæɪz/	/de:z/

**hyper-rhoticity** This term (used by Ihalainen 1994: 216 [1]) refers to an /r/ which is ‘induced by a final schwa’. It goes back at least to the eighteenth century and was remarked on by prescriptive writers like Sheridan (1781 [1]) and Walker (1791 [1]). It is found in words like *fellow* [fɛlər] and *window* [wɪndər], for example in southern/south-western English (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 28–29 [2.1]), where the final long vowel was reduced to /ə/ and then rhotacized. Non-rhotic varieties may show hyper-rhoticity even where there is no special reduction of the final syllable, for example in pronunciations like *China* [tʃaɪnəɹ] (Trudgill 1986: 74 [1.2.3]). There may also be an overgeneralization in words like *khaki* [kɑːrki], *lager* [lɑːrgər] (with rhotic varieties), or an intrusive /r/ (/R/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE) in words like *wash*, *because* (in the Midland region of the United States, Pederson 2001: 272 [5.1.2]).

**hypocoristic** A term for words to which a vowel – typically /o:/ or /i:/ – has been added at the end, often after part of it has been truncated. Hypocoristics are typical of colloquial language, for example *boyo* from ‘boy’, *brillo* from ‘brilliant’, *breaky* from ‘break(fast)’, *deffo* from ‘definitely’. This process can also be applied to proper names, for example *Anto* < ‘Anthony’, *Rayo* < ‘Raymond’. Some varieties of English would seem to favour such formations, for example Australian English and local Dublin English.

**hypotaxis** [ˌhaɪpəʊˈtæksɪs] A term sometimes used to denote subordination in a sentence, as when a clause is introduced by a subordinating conjunction, for example *Fiona got up early although she had gone to bed late*. The term contrasts with PARATAXIS.

# I

**idealization** A situation where the linguist chooses to ignore details of language use for reasons of greater generalization, for example the idealized speaker-hearer postulated by Chomsky (1965 [1]).

**idiolect** The language of an individual as opposed to that of a group.

**idiom** A set of words which always co-occur and where the meaning is not necessarily derived by concatenating the individual parts of the idiom, for example *taking coals to Newcastle* ‘doing something entirely superfluous’, *to kick the bucket* ‘to die’. Idioms frequently show a distinctive metrical pattern, for example [ ' ' ' ' ] as in 'Tom, 'Dick ,and 'Har,ry, 'Hook, 'line ,and 'sin,ker, 'Lock, 'stock ,and 'bar,rel.

**idioms across varieties** An IDIOM consists of a specific number of words in a set order which have a meaning different from the literal one, for example *Fiona spilled the beans* (*The beans were spilled by Fiona* can only be interpreted literally). Idioms may vary slightly across varieties, for example *To get blood out of a stone* but also *To get blood out of a turnip* (Irish version) as may fixed expressions, cf. *goose bumps* which are also known as *goose pimples*.

**Ihalainen, Ossi (1942–1993)** Finnish scholar known for his work on English dialects, especially their historical development since the early modern period.

**illocutionary force** A term which refers to the intention of a speech act. This may not be obvious from the literary meaning, for example the illocutionary force of *It's draughty in here* would be a request to perhaps close a window or door.

**immersion** A reference to a technique in second language acquisition where the learners are exposed to the foreign language to a maximum degree.

**immigrant language** A language used by a community of immigrants in a host country. The language usually declines as its users switch to that of the surrounding society, though the rate at which this happens depends on a variety of factors, especially the attitude of later generations to the cultural background, and hence language, of the preceding generations.

**imperative** A verbal category, often classified as a mood, which is used to express a command. Like the VOCATIVE it is more a pragmatic than a grammatical category.

**imperfect** A common tense which expresses an action which took place in the past but without implying that it was completed or not. It contrasts with the perfect which denotes a completed action.

**impersonal** A reference to a structure – usually verbal – which does not contain a personal subject, that is an agent, as in *It's raining*.

**implicational scale** A scale of features from most vernacular to least vernacular in which the existence of a certain feature implies that features below it on the scale are also present. Table 10 shows an implicational scale for syntactic features of (southern) Irish English, that is speakers who have 1 also have 2 + 3, those with 2 also have 3 but not necessarily 1, those with 3 do not always have 2 + 1.

**Table 10** Implicational scale for grammatical features.

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1	habitual ( <i>do(es) be</i> ) >
2	immediate perfective ( <i>after V-ing</i> ) >
3	resultative perfective (O + PP word order)

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**imposition** A scenario in which a group of second-language speakers ‘impose’ the features of their variety onto that of a group of first-language speakers. The imposing group may be small but have high prestige, for example Anglo-Normans who switched to Irish in the late Middle Ages in Ireland, or it may be large and imposed by force of numbers, for example the mass of Irish speakers who switched to English in the early modern period and who affected the language of the native English in Ireland. See Guy (1990 [1.2]).

**inclusive** A reference to a pronoun which includes both the speaker and the addressee. Some languages – such as Tok Pisin – distinguish between an inclusive and an exclusive first person plural pronoun, that is *youmi* and *mipela*. See EXCLUSIVE.

**incorporation** A term from language typology which denotes a process – diachronic or synchronic – which involves the compression of several major word categories to one, for example noun, article and adjective or subject, verb and object. This is not found in English but is typical of native languages of America.

**indentured labour** A system operating in the colonial period whereby emigrants agreed to work for a landowner at an overseas location for a set period of time, typically between five and eight years, usually to defray the cost of transportation from Britain or other source location.

**independence** The vast majority of British colonies achieved their independence in the twentieth century. Ireland was one of the first (1922), with many overseas colonies in Africa and Asia agitating for independence after this, for example India under Mahatma Gandhi, achieving it finally in 1947. Indeed after World War II it became clear that there was no going back to the old system, for example in Malaysia after the defeat of the Japanese, and no continuing the colonial regime in many African countries like Ghana or Nigeria. Independence did not mean the rejection of English, but it did result in an assessment of the colonial legacy, especially in literature, *see* POST-COLONIAL ENGLISH. The large countries with settler populations, for example the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, are different in that they continued native-speaker varieties of English. Note that independence implies that regions/locations were formal colonies of England. There are some for which this was not true, for example Nepal or Tonga, but they were nonetheless within the sphere of English influence.

**independent parallel development** Any set of two or more developments in separated languages or dialects which are assumed to have arisen independently of each other, for instance *y'all* in southern American English and in South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1992 [6.3.1.4]). *See* INNOVATIONS, SHARED.

**indexical** A reference to features of speech, for instance quality of the voice, that reveal the personal characteristics of the speaker, for example his/her age or sex.

**India** A South Asian country with an area of 3,287,000 sq km divided into 28 states and 7 union territories with a total population of over 1.2 billion. India was formerly one of the largest and most important British colonies. The capital is New Delhi which is contained within Delhi and has a metropolitan population of about 14 million (the largest city is Mumbai with about 18 million). Modern European involvement with India began at the end of the fifteenth century when the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama landed in the south of the country. European countries such as Portugal, The Netherlands (then the Dutch Republic), England, France and Denmark vied over the next few centuries for superiority in the lucrative Asian trade with India and later China. This trade was carried on by commercial companies which had stations along the coast of India. The most important of these was the powerful EAST INDIA COMPANY founded in 1600 and which later established bases at many of the sites which were to become major cities of India: Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata), Madras (Chennai). Initially Portuguese, and later Dutch, were important languages, being replaced in the following centuries by English with the missionary activity and the establishment of English educational institutions in India.

Because of the size and linguistic complexity of India, English has had a special function as a means of communication. The British government was keen on providing English education for the leading classes (*see* MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON (1800–1859)) and to anglicize the country. This colonial stance met with mixed responses but in the early twentieth century the Indian nationalist movement gained momentum, not least due to the campaigns of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948). In 1947 India gained its independence, which led to the hiving off of Pakistan as the Islamic section of the country. Pakistan itself was divided into West and East Pakistan (former East Bengal), the latter attaining its freedom from its larger western counterpart in 1971 and becoming the state of BANGLADESH. Hindi and English are official languages along with various regional languages in individual states: Hindi as the indigenous language

with the greatest number of speakers and English as the language for external dealings as well as for interstate and federal communication. Many states, especially in the south, try to avoid Hindi altogether (which is technically possible under the constitution) and choose to use their own regional language and English.

Indian English has distinctive features on a supraregional level, above all in its phonology. The alveolar consonants of English are generally realized as retroflex sounds, found in both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian parts of the country. Dental fricatives are realized as dental stops and voiceless stops are unaspirated. Mid vowels tend not to be diphthongized, that is *though* would be [ɖo:] rather than [ðəʊ], *tin* would be [tɪn] and not [tɪn]. There are also salient intonational patterns deriving from local languages. The grammar of Indian English varies greatly depending on the background indigenous language and the degree of proficiency of the individual speaker. Substrate influence makes itself felt in morphology and syntax (Lange 2012 [7.1.1]), this interference declining sharply with education and fluency in English. Much recent corpus-based work has been done into lexico-grammatical developments in Indian English, many of which involve quantitative trends not identifiable by intuitive means, for example collocational tendencies, different verb-complementational preferences, and hence require corpus-based analysis (see Gries & Mukherjee 2010 [7]; Schilk, Bernaisch & Mukherjee 2012 [7.1]; Werner & Mukherjee 2012 [7.1]). An early lexicographical study of Indian English is *Hobson-Jobson, being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Word and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms* by Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell (London, 1886).

**Indian diaspora** With the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834 labour shortages arose at various locations across the anglophone world. Britain sought to solve this difficulty by moving people from India, which was then a relatively densely populated country, to other countries to work on English-owned plantations. There are four particular areas where large numbers of Indians were resettled and where they later formed a recognizable ethnic minority:

1. East Africa, especially Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, where many Indians from the west of their country (Gujarat and Panjab) moved to when this area was British East Africa. This continued an existing tradition of contacts across the Arabian Sea and was not necessarily connected with the abolition of slavery. Large numbers of Indians also moved to the islands of Mauritius and Réunion in the Indian Ocean.
2. South Africa, which received indentured servants from India between 1860 and 1911 and who worked on the plantations in Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal). Many of these Indians were Bhojpuri speakers from the north-west of India or Tamil speakers from the south.
3. Fiji, where Indians were moved in the nineteenth century for plantation work and where they later formed the leading social group, especially after independence in 1970, a fact which led to considerable tension with the native Fijians of Melanesian stock.
4. Trinidad and Tobago, which experienced an influx of tens of thousands of Indians during the nineteenth century. Some Indians came directly from India but many are the descendants of indentured labourers from other Caribbean islands. These originally worked on the sugar plantations and then on the newer plantations which produced cacao, the basis for cocoa and chocolate. The Indians of Trinidad and Tobago are mainly from the Hindi belt in the central north of the country and are ethnically Hindustani.



In all of the extraterritorial areas where Indians settled they formed with time a burgeoning middle class. This happened in East and South Africa, in Fiji and in the Caribbean. Varieties arose in the new locations which represent mixtures of local forms of English with input from the Indo-Aryan and/or Dravidian languages of India.

**Indian Ocean** The third largest ocean (after the Pacific and the Atlantic), which stretches latitudinally from East Africa to the west of the Malay Archipelago and Australia. It is bound in the south by the Antarctic and in the north by India, which gives it its name. There are several locations with English on the rim of the Indian Ocean: the countries of East and South Africa, the states of South Asia, Malaysia and Australia in the east. The anglophone islands of the Indian Ocean are the following: Sri Lanka, The Maldives, The Seychelles and Mauritius.

**indicative** A factual mood which is used to make statements rather than issue commands (IMPERATIVE) or make uncertain, hypothetical statements (SUBJUNCTIVE).

**indicators** In the Labovian tradition of sociolinguistics indicators are features which do not show sensitivity to social factors and which do not vary across styles. In Dublin English (and Irish English in general) the fricative realization of /t/, [t̪], does not vary across social groups or styles of language, that is it is an indicator, as are the dental realizations in the THIN and THIS lexical sets, that is [t̪ɪn] and [d̪ɪs] respectively. See MARKERS.

**indigenized variety** A term used to refer to English which has been adopted by a native population in a country which was colonized by Britain. It is intended as a neutral term but is seen by some as having undesirable overtones of colonialism. The term ‘nativized variety’ is used synonymously.

**indirect object** An item in a sentence which accompanies the direct object and which frequently denotes the person affected by an action and as such is always animate (a metonymic use of institutions or locations is also allowed here: *The government gave the city additional funding*). In English there is only one pronominal form for both direct and indirect object, the latter being indicated by its position before the former or by a preposition like *to*: *Fiona wrote a letter to her cousin*; *Fiona gave him the book*.

**indirect question** Any question which avails of indirect speech, for example *They wondered if he could speak English*. Vernacular varieties of English sometimes allow direct question word order in embedded contexts, for example *They wondered could he speak English*. See Hilbert (2008 [1.6]).

**indirect speech act** Any utterance where there is a discrepancy between literal and intended meaning, for example *It's cold in here* said in a room with the window open in winter, where the intention of the speech act would be to have the window closed.

**Indo-Aryan** A group of languages forming a distinct set within the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European. The languages are spoken by over 900 million people throughout India, mainly in the north and centre.

**Indo-European** One of the major language families of the world and certainly the best researched. It comprises nearly all the languages of Europe (except Basque, Finnish, Estonian,

Hungarian and Turkish) along with many in the Middle East, for example Persian, Kurdish (but not Arabic or Hebrew), and several in South Asia, such as Hindi, Marathi, Bengali (India), Urdu (Pakistan), Sinhala (Sri Lanka).

**Indonesia** The largest country in South-East Asia with a land area of nearly 2 million sq km and a population of about 238 million of which over 10 million live in the capital Jakarta (formerly Batavia under Dutch rule) with about 28 million in its metropolitan area. Indonesia's colonial history is Dutch, being administered for a few centuries by the Dutch East India Company. It declared its independence from The Netherlands in 1945 and became the Republic of Indonesia. The official (standardized) language is Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia), a form of Malay, an Austronesian language which is mutually comprehensible with Bahasa Malay spoken in Malaysia.

**infinitive** A verb form not marked for tense and usually not for person or number either. This is often used as the citation form for a dictionary entry as in English.

**infinitive constructions** Variation may occur here as follows: (i) *For to* infinitives. Constructions which usually indicate purpose may require the use of *for* before the infinitive, for example *He went to Dublin for to buy a car*. This is also attested in Scottish and Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 200 [2.10]) and in Newfoundland English (Clarke 2010: 47–48 [5.2.8]). (ii) Infinitive without *to*. *To* can be omitted before the verb in some cases as in *She used Ø eat much more. They allowed him Ø leave. He helped him Ø pack his bags*.

**infixation, emphatic** A process in colloquial English whereby an adjective is inserted into an adverb such as *absolutely*, for example *abso-bloody-lutely*, *abso-bleeding-lutely*. The prosodic condition on this type of formation is that the stress on the adverb comes after the point of insertion.

**inflection** An alteration made to a word to indicate a certain grammatical category, for example number and case with nouns or person, number and tense with verbs. The number of inflections in a language can be taken as an indication of its type, a large number being characteristic of synthetic languages. Diachronically, inflections arise from clitics which become inseparable from the lexical bases to which they are attached.

**inflectional** A reference to the section of morphology involved in the indication of grammatical categories rather than in the formation of new words, the latter being termed 'derivational'.

**inflectional 's', use of** See VERBAL CONCORD, NON-STANDARD.

**informant** Any individual who supplies data for a linguist carrying out an investigation. The choice of informant critically determines the kind of data which can be collected. See FIELDWORK, METHODS.

**ingressive speech** Speaking with an inward air flow. Obviously, this cannot be maintained for more than a second or two and so cannot characterize stretches of speech. However, with some speakers in some regions (Newfoundland and parts of Britain and Ireland), discourse particles such as *yeah*, *no* can be articulated with an ingressive airflow. See Clarke and Melchers (2005 [1.6]).

**initial fricative voicing** The change of a voiceless fricative at the beginning of a word to a voiced one. This happened in the early history of southern English dialects, yielding pronunciations such as *say* [zeɪ], *shilling* [ʒɪlɪŋ], *father* [vɑ:ðər] (Wakelin 1986, 1988 [2.9]).

**initialism** An abbreviation to a series of letters each of which is the first letter of a word in the full form, for example *BBC* from ‘British Broadcasting Corporation’, *UN* from ‘United Nations’.

**Inkhorn Controversy** A reference to the sixteenth-century discussions by scholars about the pros and cons of direct borrowing from Latin or Greek for the purpose of enriching English. One group felt that English provides the means to create any new terms needed while the other favoured borrowing for this purpose. The label ‘Inkhorn Controversy’ highlights the fact that the matter was something which concerned writers more than the general public.

**inkhorn term** An historical term (sixteenth century) for a word which is obscure or pretentious, especially erudite creations from Latin or Greek as a sign of putative learning, *see* INKHORN CONTROVERSY.

**Inland North** A large region of the north-central United States taken to encompass the region from the Erie Canal in upstate New York in the east to east Wisconsin in the west. The Inland North is known for the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT, a chain shift of short vowels.

**innateness hypothesis** In language acquisition studies, the notion that children are born with a predisposition to learn language. It contrasts with the view that knowledge of language is essentially gained by experience (a stance typical of behaviourism in psychology).

**innit** A colloquial tag question, derived from *isn't* (or maybe *ain't*), and especially common in colloquial London English, for example *He gets upset quick innit?* (Anderwald 2008: 457 [2.7]).

**innovation** A new feature found in the speech of a minority of speakers in a community. An innovation may lead to change in the language system but this cannot be predicted at an early stage. For instance, in recent non-vernacular Dublin English short front vowels have been lowered, especially in the speech of young females, for example *neck* [næk], *catch* [kæʃ]. Whether this will become established and typical of all speakers remains to be seen.

**innovations, shared** New developments in more than one variety which are linked historically. A case in point is presented by short front vowels in South African, Australian and New Zealand English. In all three major varieties of SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE ENGLISH these vowels are raised when compared to varieties in North America (excluding the recent NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT, Labov 1994 [1.2]) and in Britain. Hence one has the following typical pronunciations: *bad* [e], *bed* [be·d], *bid* [bi·d] or [bəd] (South African and New Zealand English).

For South African English Branford (1994: 477 [6.3.1]) maintains that the raising of the TRAP vowel is probably an inherited feature of early nineteenth-century English and quotes Wyld (1956 [1.5]) who comments on this in RP. He also sees the raised vowel in the DRESS lexical set and the centralized realization in the KIT set as having antecedents in English English at the time of the first wave of settlers to the Western and Eastern Cape regions of South Africa (after 1795 and in the 1820s respectively).

Scholars like Elizabeth Gordon and Peter Trudgill (analysing historical New Zealand English) have maintained that the raising of short vowels was a tendency in the historical input, but not yet realized, this having taken place in New Zealand (Gordon et al. 2004 [8.2]). In Britain, in the twentieth century, a reversal of the raising of the TRAP vowel had set in by the middle of the century (Bauer 1985 [1], 1994: 120–121 [1.2.9]), halting any incipient general shift upwards. Because of the split between south-eastern English English and Southern Hemisphere English in the nineteenth century, the latter shows a vowel shift on a trajectory which English English did not pursue.

**insults, ritual** A prominent aspect of English as used by African Americans, especially male youths. The use of insults is part of male banter and has a bonding function within a group. Males compete with each other to produce the most stinging insults, frequently with reference to the mother of the opponent in an exchange, thus demonstrating their verbal skill. There are various labels for this type of behaviour, such as *woofing* or *talking the dirty dozens*. Historical precedents also exist, for example *flying*, an exchange of abuse in verse form. See SWEARING.

**intensifier** Any word or expression which is used to add emphasis in a phrase or sentence. Such elements are typically adjectives or adverbs, for example *I'm pure robbed*. *The competition was fierce (tough)*. Intensification can also be realized via multiple negation, for example *I'm not goin' nowhere with no-one*. See NEGATIVE CONCORD.

**inter-dental fricatives** Sounds which are produced by placing the tip of the tongue between the teeth. These sounds are found in standard varieties of English and in other languages such as Spanish, Greek, Arabic. The initial sounds in English *think* [θɪŋk] and *this* [ðɪs] are inter-dental fricatives (voiceless and voiced respectively) but the description 'ambi-dental' might be more accurate for English English as the tip of the tongue need only be in the region of the teeth. In American English these fricatives tend to have an inter-dental articulation.

**inter-dental fricatives, fortition of** See TH-STOPPING.

**inter-dental fricatives, shift in articulation with** See TH-FRONTING.

**interference** The transfer of certain phenomena, for example syntactic structures, from one language to another where they are not considered well-formed. This may happen on an individual level (during second language learning, for example) or collectively, in which case it can lead to language change. Interference is typical of language shift situations such as that which obtained in Ireland in the early modern period.

**interlanguage** A term from second language studies, stemming from the linguist Larry Selinker, which refers to an identifiable stage in the acquisition of a new language.

**interloper** A person who participates in two speech communities. In the opinion of some sociolinguists, such as J. K. Chambers, such individuals can be important in transmitting language change from one community to another and thus cause change to spread socially and also geographically.

**internal reconstruction** One of the two major procedures of historical linguistics in which evidence from the internal development of a language is used in reconstructing earlier stages. It

contrasts with the COMPARATIVE METHOD which relies on evidence from related languages. For instance, the use of voiced fricatives in the plurals of some words like *knives*, *rooves* and *wives* can help in establishing that Old English had voicing of fricatives in intervocalic position (although this was not indicated in writing). The Old English forms *wif*: *wifas* can be assumed to have been /wi:f/ : /wi:vas/ because Modern English still has /v/ in the plural of *wife*. Support for such assumptions is also provided by knowledge of common processes in languages, that is intervocalic voicing is a well attested phenomenon in many languages.

**International Association of World English** An international organization which promotes contact between scholars and teachers working in the field of WORLD ENGLISH.

**International Corpus of English** See CORPUS OF ENGLISH, INTERNATIONAL (ICE).

**International Corpus of Learner English** See CORPUS OF LEARNER ENGLISH, INTERNATIONAL.

**International Period** A division in the history of English in the United States which spans the time from the Spanish–American War and the annexation of Hawai‘i in 1898 to the present day. See COLONIAL PERIOD, NATIONAL PERIOD.

**International Phonetic Alphabet, IPA** A system of transcribing the sounds of languages which consists of some Latin and Greek letters and a variety of additional symbols and diacritics. The goal is to represent each recognizable human sound in a unique fashion. The IPA was developed at the end of the nineteenth century and has been revised on many occasions, most recently in 2005 (see Figure 6). There is also an association with its own publication *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*. See ELLIS, ALEXANDER JOHN (1814–1890), PASSY, PAUL ÉDOUARD (1859–1940), SWEET, HENRY (1845–1912).

**Internet linguistics** The investigation of all aspects of language which involve the Internet or other means of digital communication such as emailing and texting (though the latter does not use the World Wide Web as do the former). Major concerns are the manner in which language is used, the amount of abbreviation and the apparent disregard for spelling and punctuation. Internet linguistics can also refer to the management and interrogation of corpora online. On a more general level a further concern could be with the spread of knowledge about varieties of language through Internet contacts and with possible influences on language use in non-digital contexts. See EMAILING, TEXTING; Baron (2000 [1.1.17]) and Crystal (2001 [1.1.17]).

**interrogative** A sentence type representing a request for information. Its syntax is different from declaratives, involving the inversion of subject and object with *be/have*, for example *Is it too late? Has he gone?* or by using *do* with other verbs, for example *Does Fiona speak Spanish?*

**interrogative as relative pronoun** In some traditional rural dialects the interrogative can function as a relative pronoun, for example *I know a farmer what rears sheep*.

**intervocalic** A reference to a consonant which occurs between two vowels. Segments in such positions tend to weaken, that is to become voiced (if voiceless), to fricativize (if stops) or to vocalize (if fricatives).

**intonation** Variation in pitch when speaking, typically manifested as sentence melody, often giving prominence to a word group. Intonation is separate from tone, which is pitch variation within a word used to make lexical distinctions.

**intransitive** Refers to a verb, such as *think*, which does not take a direct object. Such verbs may have indirect objects, however, for example *She thought about the matter for a while*.

**intrusive r** See /r/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE.

**intrusive schwa** See EPENTHESIS.

**intuition** A term referring to speakers' unconscious knowledge about their native language. Intuition is used frequently when speakers are asked to judge the grammaticality of sentences. Intuition results from the internalization process of the first years of life during which children unconsciously store detailed information about the structure of their native language.

**Inuit** A reference to the First Nations peoples who live in northern Canada, Greenland and Alaska, previously, but not any longer, called Eskimo. Their language is Inuktitut and Nunavut is the territory of northern Canada in which the Inuit form the majority in the regional government.

**invariant** A reference to an element which does not change its form on a change in category, for example *sheep* is invariant in the plural as it does not take an inflection; the verbs *hit*, *cast*, *put* are invariant as they show neither a vowel change nor a suffix in the past.

**invariant *be*** The use of *be* for a finite form of the verb. This usage is attested in the history of English, for example *Sir, they be principally three, namely, March, April, and May* (Izaak Walton *The Compleat Angler*, 1653–1676) and in some traditional dialects, for example *We be at home at the weekend*.

**invariant *have*** A use of *have* for a finite form of the verb. This is found to a certain extent in Newfoundland and commonly in south-east Ireland for lexical *have*, for example *Brian have good pay in the new job*. It is more frequent in both these locations for auxiliary *have*, for example *He've (= he have) done the work now*.

**inventory** The number of elements in a sub-system of language, for example the set of consonants in the sound system of English.

**inverse spelling** An unexpected spelling which indicates a possible pronunciation of a word. This phenomenon is of value in historical linguistics, for example *wright* for *write* in late Middle English which shows that *gh* no longer represented [x] for a particular scribe but just signaled that the preceding vowel was long, that is the word was most likely pronounced /ri:t/.

**Ireland** An island in north-west Europe, west of England, which consists politically of (i) the Republic of Ireland and (ii) Northern Ireland, a constituent part of the United Kingdom. The island has an area of 84,000 sq km and a total population of just under 6.5 million. Geographically, the country consists of a flat central area, the Midlands, and a mountainous,

jagged western seaboard and a flatter east coast with Dublin, the largest city, in the centre of the east and Belfast, the main city of Northern Ireland, in the north-east. The main ethnic groups are Irish and Ulster Scots. There are speakers of Ulster English in Northern Ireland but they do not constitute a recognizable ethnic group today. TRAVELLERS are a sub-group in Irish society but do not constitute a separate ethnicity.

Before the arrival of Norman and English settlers in the late twelfth century Ireland was entirely Irish-speaking. In subsequent centuries both French and English established themselves, the latter concentrated in towns on the east coast. The linguistic legacy of this is an archaic dialect area from Dublin down to Waterford. English subsequently declined and it was not until the seventeenth century that it became the dominant language in the entire island, due to increased settlement of English in the centre and south and the movement of tens of thousands of Lowland Scots to ULSTER. These facts justify a division of the history of English in Ireland into two periods: (i) 1200–1600 and (ii) 1600 onwards. The documents for the first period are scant, *see* KILDARE POEMS. After 1600 the language shift to English gained momentum and was to continue unabated to the present with the Great Famine (1845–1858) resulting in a great reduction in the number of Irish native speakers through death or emigration to Britain and North America. The lack of regular schooling for the native Catholic Irish before the 1830s meant that the language shift occurred in a non-prescriptive environment for adults, leading to much syntactic and phonological transfer, *see* IRISH ENGLISH.

**Ireland, Northern** Since 1922 Northern Ireland has been a constituent part of the United Kingdom. It consists of six of the nine counties of the province of Ulster and was created as an option for the Protestant majority in the north-east of Ireland, descended from original Scottish and English settlers, who wished to remain within the British union after independence for the rest of Ireland. *See* ULSTER and Corrigan (2010 [3.3.1]).

**Ireland, Republic of** A state occupying about five sixths of the island of Ireland (the remainder constitutes Northern Ireland). It resulted from the partition of Ireland in 1922 after which six counties of ULSTER remained within the United Kingdom. The country has an area of 70,000 sq km and a population of over 4.5 million of which approximately 1.8 million live in the larger metropolitan area of Dublin. Irish and English are official languages; English is now spoken natively by over 99 per cent of the Irish-born population. Contemporary Ireland includes a considerable number of immigrants from Eastern Europe, mainly from Poland, who came for work after accession to the European Union in 2004. There is also a small group of TRAVELLERS throughout the country.

**Irish** A Celtic language spoken natively by about 30,000 people in Ireland, where it is an official language. It is attested from at least 600 CE onwards in an unbroken tradition (there is also an earlier rune-like form known as Ogam). The present-day language exists in three main dialects, north, west and south which diverge considerably.

**Irish English** A cover term for varieties of English spoken in Ireland. There are a sufficient number of shared features on all levels of language across the forms of English throughout the entire island to justify a single term on a top level (*see* Hickey 2012b [3.3] for a discussion of such areal features in Ireland). On the next level below this, a distinction can be made between English in Ulster (both Ulster English and Ulster Scots) and varieties in the south. The latter can in turn be subdivided into (i) an east-coast dialect area, from Dublin to the south-east



corner, reflecting the period of earliest English settlement, and (ii) the south-west, west and north-west which are areas in which the Irish language survived longest and where varieties are spoken which show many features deriving from the historical shift from Irish to English. In the following a presentation of consensus features for most varieties in Ireland is given with regional distinctions mentioned where necessary; see also the comments on northern Irish English in IRISH ENGLISH, NORTHERN.

**Pronunciation** (1) TH-stopping, usually as dental stops, though alveolar stops are common in the rural south, for example *thin* [tʰɪn/tɪn], *this* [dʰɪs/dɪs], and are generally stigmatized. The dental stops may well be a transfer from Irish where the realizations of /t, d/ are dental; fricative realizations are more common in the north (see IRISH ENGLISH, NORTHERN) though they are found in final position in reading styles in the south. (2) T-lenition normally results in an apico-alveolar fricative [t̪] in intervocalic and post-vocalic, prepausal position, for example *city* [sɪt̪i], *cut* [kʌt̪]. The apical [t̪] is distinct from the laminal [s] so that *kit* and *kiss* are not homophones. Lenition extends to [ʔ, h, r] or zero in local DUBLIN ENGLISH. (3) Rural vernaculars still distinguish between [ʌ] (voiceless) and [w] (voiced) so that *which* and *witch* would not be homophones. (4) Again conservative varieties have an alveolar [l], including older supra-regional speech, but more recent varieties show velarization or pharyngealization of syllable-final /l/. (5) /r/ is now retroflex [ɻ] in young supraregional speech but used to be a bunched, velarized variant [ɤ]. (6) Vowels generally show less diphthongization than in southern English English, but in young female speech the GOAT-vowel can be [əʊ]. (7) The TRAP and BATH sets are distinguished more by length than quality and a retracted [ɑ:] in the latter set is not used: [tɹæp/tɹap], [bɑ:t̪/bɑ:t̪]. (8) The STRUT vowel is retracted and maybe slightly rounded, that is [stɹʌ̠t̪/stɹʌ̠t̪].

**Morphology** (1) A distinction between second person pronouns is normal either by using *ye* [ji] (non-vernacular) or *youse* [juz], *yez* [jiz] (vernacular) for the plural; singular *you* is reduced to [jə] colloquially. (2) Verbal -s is common in the third person plural: *The boys always gets up late* (see iterative habitual below) and categorical with existential *there* in nearly all speech styles: *There's lots of cars outside*. (3) *Them* is used as a demonstrative: *Them cars are really fast*. (4) *Amn't* is widespread as contracted *am not*, for example *Amn't I great now?*

**Syntax** Many aspectual distinctions exist: (i) the *after*-perfective reports a recent action of high informational value: *He's after smashing the window*. (ii) The resultative perfective reports that a planned action has been completed and avails of the word order Object + Part Participle: *She has the soup made* 'She has finished making the soup'. (iii) The durative habitual is expressed in southern Irish English via *do* + V-ing: *She does be worrying about the children* (in the north via *bees*, see IRISH ENGLISH, NORTHERN); the iterative habitual is expressed via verbal -s: *They calls this place City Square*. The use of these habituals is generally confined to vernacular varieties or a vernacular mode with supraregional speakers. (iv) Subordinating *and* has a concessive or restrictive meaning: *We went out walking and it raining*. (v) Clefting by fronting a sentence element, introduced by *It's*, is widespread: *It's to Dublin he's gone today*. *It's her brother who rang up this morning*. The sources of these structures have been the subject of much scholarly debate: (i) and (iv) are calques on Irish structures; (ii) may also be, given the same word order and meaning in Irish; (iii) may have received support from the category of habitual in Irish, the exponence of which is very different, however; (v) in its range was probably influenced by Irish where clefting is very common.

**Vocabulary** Irish English lexis can derive from English dialect input, for example *mitch* 'truant', *chisler* 'child', *hames* 'mess' (of Dutch origin) or from archaic pronunciation, for example [baul] (admiringly) for *bold* and [aul] (affectionately) for *old*, *eejit* /i:dʒət/ for *idiot*.

Word pairs with complementary meanings are often confused: *ditch* is used for *dyke*, *bring* for *take*, *rent* for *let*, *learn* can be used for *teach* colloquially (*That'll learn ya*). Older usages are also found, for example *mad* for 'angry with', *sick* for 'ill', *bold* for 'misbehaved'. Phrasal verbs can have meanings not found elsewhere, for example *give out* 'complain'. Words can stem from Irish, for example *cog* (< Irish *cogair* 'whisper'), *twig* (< Irish *tuigim* 'understand'), *brogue* 'country accent', *gob* 'mouth', *smithereens* 'broken pieces', *blarney* (place name) 'flattery, sweet talk'. Many Irish words are used directly, for example *ciúineas* 'silence', *piseog* 'superstition' (Anglicized as *pishogue*), *sláinte* 'health' or *plámás* 'flattery' (the practice of interspersing one's speech with the odd Irish word is known as using the *cúpla focal*, Irish 'couple of words'). Specific uses of English would include *crack* (< Irish *craic*, itself a borrowing from English) 'social enjoyment', *yoke* 'thing, device'. Some Irish words appeared in American English in the nineteenth century, for example *slew* (< Irish *slua* 'crowd'). The phrase *so long!* may be from Irish *slán* 'goodbye' with the velarized [ɫ] suggesting an initial unstressed syllable: [sʰɫɑ:n]; *phoney* could perhaps be related to Irish *fáinne* [fə:nʲə] 'ring' and originally be a reference to the sale of fake jewellery. *Galore* 'plentiful' (only used predicatively) < *go leor* 'enough' and *whisk(e)y* < *uisce beatha* 'water of life' could be from Irish or Scottish Gaelic.

*Pragmatics* Agreement and ease of exchange are highly valued in Irish discourse and a number of pragmatic markers are frequently used to realize these features: (i) *sure* (reassurance), for example *Sure, it won't take you that long*; (ii) sentence-final *then* (tacit agreement), for example *I suppose it might be safe, then*; (iii) *grand* (reassurance, agreement), for example *You're grand the way you are. That was a grand cup of coffee*; (iv) *just* (mild disagreement), for example *Just, he wasn't go to pay for it after all*; (v) *now* (hedging device), for example *Okay, I have to go, goodbye now*. There is also a widespread use of focuser *like*, for example *They'd go into the houses, like, to play the cards*.

**Irish English, Northern** English as spoken in the north of Ireland, both within NORTHERN IRELAND and ULSTER as a whole. English in this region has four main sources: (1) settlement before 1600 which survives in the speech of people in the west of the province and which has been influenced by Irish; (2) Ulster Scots which is a distinct variety stemming from Scots brought from Lowland and Western Scotland from the seventeenth century onwards; (3) general northern English which came with the English settlement, especially in the centre of the province, again from the seventeenth century onwards; and (4) varieties of English in Donegal in the west of Ulster which show many contact features due to the historical shift from Irish to English.

Northern Irish English can be distinguished from southern Irish English by its intonation, a fall-rise in pitch with stressed syllables and a high-rising terminal in declarative sentences, especially in Belfast. Segmental features include (i) /u/ fronting to a mid high vowel [ʊ], for example *soon* [sʊn], and as the end point of the MOUTH diphthong, that is [mæʊθ]; (ii) an ingliding diphthong in the FACE lexical set, for example *save* [seəv]; (iii) a lack of vowel length in ULSTER SCOTS which has spread to other varieties, for example *fool* and *full*, both [fʊl], a feature related to the SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE in Scots; (iv) the lowering of short front vowels, for example *hid* [hed], *head* [hæd]; (v) the tendency to lengthen short low vowels, with retraction before nasals and raising before velars: *family* [fa:mli], *bag* [bæ:g]; (vi) a high starting point for the PRICE vowel, for example *fly* [fleɪ]; (vii) the occurrence of [θ] and [ð] in the THIN and THIS lexical sets (only found sporadically in the south of Ireland in syllable codas and often just in a reading style). Note that the northern retroflex [ɻ] is no longer a delimiting feature as this realization of /r/ has arisen (independently) in the south in the past few decades.

A specifically syntactic feature of the north is the use of inflected *be* for the habitual: *The lads bees out a lot*. See McCafferty (2007 [3.3.1]).

**irregular** A form which can be regarded as an exception to a given pattern or rule, for example the plurals formed with a stem vowel change in Modern English, *man* : *men*, *tooth* : *teeth* or the so-called ‘strong’ verbs such as *sing* : *sang* : *sung*, *see* : *saw* : *seen*. Irregular forms typically involve alteration of the stem and not affixation which is characteristic of regular nouns and verbs. If the entire form alters as in *good* : *better* : *best* or *bad* : *worse* : *worst* one speaks of SUPPLETION. Normally, only a small subset of word forms (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) are irregular.

**Isle of Man** A large island in the Irish Sea between the east coast of Ulster in Ireland and Lancashire in north-west England with an area of 572 km and a population of about 85,000. The Isle of Man, or simply Mann (from Manx Gaelic *Mannin*), is a self-governing crown dependency of the United Kingdom but not part of it. However, foreign and defence policy are determined by the United Kingdom. The island was under the influence of Irish Gaels from the fifth century and their language was adopted and became the distinct Manx language in the following centuries. There was also a major Norse influence during the Scandinavian period. The English language gradually increased its position on the island replacing Manx entirely in the early twentieth century. Traditional Manx English has loans from Manx while in its pronunciation it shows the influence of Merseyside and Lancashire on the coast of England which it faces to the east. There is a Centre for Manx Studies at the University of Liverpool. See Hamer (2007 [3.4]), Moore (1924 [3.4]) and Kewley-Draskau (2012 [3.4]).

**isochrony** A term which refers to a patterning of rhythm in languages such that the intervals between stressed syllables are approximately equal.

**isogloss** A line shown on a map and which represents the boundary between two linguistic features, for example the isogloss which separates the use of [ʊ] (in the north of England) from [ʌ] (in the south of England) in the STRUT lexical set or the isogloss separating the presence or absence of non-prevocalic /r/: the absence is typical of large regions of the south, but parts of the south and south-west still retain /r/ in this position. An additional isogloss which is sociolinguistically significant is that separating areas with initial /h-/ and those without it. Initial /h-/ is not common in urban vernaculars in Britain with the exception of Scotland and the far north-east of England (Tyneside). A criticism of isoglosses is that they only represent traditional dialect distributions and do not reflect complex sociolinguistic interactions in contemporary societies.

**isolating language** A language type where individual words do not generally vary in form and where grammatical categories and relations are indicated by separate words and/or by word order. English is fairly isolating; Chinese much more so.

## J

**Jafaican** A term, found in the media in present-day Britain, to refer to the speech of those individuals, typically in London, who try to imitate the British Jamaican accent of those people of West Indian origin. This can happen for satirical reasons or because the accent is perceived as trendy. *See* MOCKNEY, MUMMERSSET.

**Jamaica** An island nation in the Caribbean with an area of 11,000 sq km and a population of approximately 2.9 million of which just under 1 million live in and around the capital Kingston. The Spanish were the first Europeans to take Jamaica (Columbus visited the island in 1494). In 1655 it came under British control and remained so until independence in 1962. Slaves were brought from West Africa to Jamaica as of the second half of the seventeenth century and quickly became the majority population; slavery finally ceased with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Jamaica was the leading producer of sugar grown on plantations which provided the isolated environment for the creolization of English. Today, English in Jamaica shows a continuum from the basilectal creole to forms of standard Jamaican English. The basilect exhibits typical creole features such as analytic grammatical structure (little or no inflections), simplified phonology (a lack of consonant clusters) along with syllable-timing. The comments below refer to basilectal varieties which are often referred to as ‘patwa’; on urban creole, see Patrick (1999 [5.3.1]).

*Phonology* (1) Loss of initial /h/ with partial restoration including hypercorrect insertion of non-etymological /h/, *hour* /ha/. (2) Cluster simplification, especially in initial and final position, for example *stand* /tan/. (3) Loss of non-prevocalic /r/ and monophthongization of rising diphthongs, for example *writer* /rata/. (4) Realization of /ə/ as /a/ or /ɪ/, for example *razor* /rieza/, *heaven* /hevin/. (5) Metathesis of plosive and fricative, for example *ask* /haks/.

*Morphosyntax* (1) A frequent lack of agreement between subject and predicate. (2) No gender distinction with pronouns. (3) Absence of copula, for example *John ill*. (4) Absence of passive voice. (5) Reduplication for intensification: /hudli hudli/ ‘full of holes’, /ta:k ta:k/ ‘talk all the time’.

*Vocabulary* Contains elements from languages present at one stage in Jamaica, for example *habble* (< Spanish *hablar*), *door-mouth* (< Yoruba *iloro enu* ‘threshold’, lit. ‘porch mouth’).

Jamaican English was transported to Britain with the influx of migrants after World War II and has maintained many of its features in urban communities in England, see Patrick (2008 [2.5]), Sebba (1993 [2.5]), Sutcliffe (1982 [2.5]).

**Jamaican Maroon Spirit Possession Language** A ritual language used by Jamaican Maroons (the descendants of escaped slaves living in the central highlands of the country) when ostensibly communicating with their African ancestors. It is reputedly distinct from Jamaican creole, showing more affinity with the Surinamese creole SRANAN.

**Jamaican Patwa** See JAMAICA.

**Jamestown, Virginia** The first permanent English settlement (*see* ROANOKE ISLAND) on territory which was later to become the United States of America. It was founded in 1607 by the Virginia Company of London and expanded later with Polish and Dutch settlers. In the second half of the seventeenth century slaves were imported from West Africa to work for white landowners.

**Japan** An island nation in the north-west Pacific off the coast of Russia and North and South Korea with an area of 378,000 km and a population of about 128 million. Ethnically, the country is almost completely Japanese with the Korean and Chinese representing less than 1 per cent each. English is used as a foreign language and for international trade and industry. Many loans from English have been incorporated into Japanese and have been phonologically adapted to its sound system in the process (*see* GAIRAIGO). The OGASAWARA ISLANDS (Bonin Islands) were settled by English speakers in the nineteenth century and were under US influence in the immediately post-World War II period (*see* Long 1999 [8.3.7]). See Stanlaw (2005 [7.3.3]).

**jargon** (i) A term for in-group or specialized language which is generally unintelligible to those outside the community using it. Jargon usually consists of words and phrases but does not have an independent pronunciation and grammar. (ii) The term can also refer to a possible stage – the ‘jargon phase’ – before the stabilization of a PIDGIN.

**Jespersen, Otto (1860–1943)** Danish philologist, phonetician and language educationist. Jespersen’s linguistic career began with work on phonetics and on the teaching of English as a foreign language, an area where Jespersen pleaded strongly for reform. From 1893 to his retirement in 1925, he was professor of English at the University of Copenhagen and produced a series of original books on the history and structure of English which are topical to this day: *The Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1905), *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (6 vols, 1909–1949), *Language: Its Nature and Development* (1922).

**Jewish English** A general reference to English as used by Jews, more particularly by those in the United States who may be competent in YIDDISH. The main characteristic of Jewish English in the United States would be a higher concentration of Yiddish loanwords. See Steinmetz (2001 [5.1.14]).

**Johnson, Samuel (1709–1784)** English writer and lexicographer. Johnson was a major critic and scholar, known both for his brilliant conversation and the quality of his writing.

As a man of letters his influence on the literature of his day and of later periods was considerable. His significance for linguistics lies in the fact that he compiled the first major monolingual dictionary of English – *Dictionary of the English language* (1755) – which was a model for all future lexicographers. Johnson had responded to the general feeling of his time that an authoritative work of lexicography for English was needed which would set standards for the language. He was commissioned by a group of London book-sellers to perform the task and in 1755 after some eight or nine years of preparation his dictionary appeared. Johnson had a great respect for literary authority and sought to clarify definitions by quoting from the great English authors who preceded him, for example Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden. His stance was conservative but it was oriented towards attested (literary) English rather than trying to propagate some kind of overly Latinate and ornate use of language. As a figure of influence he is unmatched until Noah WEBSTER (1758–1843) began his work in the United States and James MURRAY (1837–1915) initiated the work on what was to become *The Oxford English Dictionary* (completed in 1928/1933). There is a tradition of referring to Samuel Johnson as ‘Dr Johnson’ due to an honorary title which he received from Trinity College, Dublin in 1765.

**Jones, Daniel (1881–1967)** English phonetician. He was born in London and studied mathematics at King’s College, Cambridge. In 1905–1906 he studied phonetics in Paris under Paul PASSY and on his return took up an appointment at University College London and from 1921 to 1949 he was professor of phonetics. Jones was the first to describe rigorously the (standard) sociolect of English English, which he termed RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION. His two main books in this connection are *An Outline of English Phonetics* (1918 with later revisions) and *An English Pronouncing Dictionary* (1917 with later revisions).

**journalese** A reference to language used in newspapers. Certain registers are often employed by journalists for this medium, usually in a terse, compact style, often deliberately colloquial for effect.

**Joyce, James (1882–1941)** Irish novelist, short story writer and dramatist. From his earliest works Joyce showed an interest in language. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) the hero Stephen shows an unusual awareness of language in his reflections on individual words. This concern was continued in *Ulysses* (1922) but it was in *Finnegans Wake* (1939) that the playful use of language caused difficulties in understanding. Joyce’s style became overladen with a multitude of often opaque references across different languages and was characterized by extremes of free semantic association in an orthography not bound by the spelling conventions of English.

**Joyce, Patrick Weston (1827–1914)** Historian as well as language and place-name scholar (not related to the novelist). Joyce was born in Co. Limerick and studied at Trinity College Dublin. His main achievement in onomastics is *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places* (3 vols, 1869–1870). In Irish English studies he is remembered for *English as We Speak It in Ireland* (1910), which was remarkable for its time (reprinted with new introductions in 1979 and 1988 [3.3]).



# K

**Kachru, Braj (1932– )** An Indian-American linguist born in Kashmir. As a scholar he is known for studies of Kashmiri and of different varieties of English, especially of what he has termed ‘World English’. Kachru devised a system of three circles, an inner, outer and expanding circle, to demonstrate the relationship of varieties to each other. See CIRCLES, THREE.

**Kachru–Quirk controversy** A name given to a debate in the journal *English Today* in the early 1990s in which Braj KACHRU and Randolph QUIRK were involved. Quirk labelled non-native Englishes as deficient while Kachru stressed their differing and creative natures when compared to traditional native forms of English. See Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008 [10]).

**Kamtok** The name for the English pidgin spoken in Cameroon since at least the late nineteenth century. It is mutually intelligible with WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH. Like this it is non-rhotic, has stops in the THIN and THIS lexical sets and no vowel length distinctions. Kamtok has, however, more consonantal distinctions than other pidgins, for example it has [s, ʃ, z tʃ, ɕ], shows [h] and distinguishes [f] and [v]. Many vowels of English have been lost by merger to single sounds, for example /æ, a:, ə/ > [a]: [man] *man*, [fada] *priest*, [agri] *agree*, /ɔ:, ʌ/ > [ɔ] *god* [gɔd], *cut* [kɔt], /e, ɜ:/ > [e] *head* [het], *bird* [bet]. It also shows final devoicing (see last two examples). Kamtok is widely understood in Cameroon and may be used by as many as half of the over 20 million Cameroonians. See Ayafor (2008 [6.1.6]), Menang (2008 [6.1.6]).

**Kentish** The dialect of the county of Kent in the south-east corner of England. Its distinctiveness is already obvious in the Old English period and probably has to do with the original Germanic settlers from Jutland in present-day Denmark who settled there. Kentish features can be seen in Modern English, for instance the vowel /i:/ in *evil* (which would have /ai/ if the form was not Kentish) or the /e/ in *bury* (the spelling which is of West Midland origin).



Also of Kentish origin is the initial voiced fricative in words like *vat* (cf. German *Fass* ‘vessel’ with /f/) and *vane* (cf. German *Fahne* ‘flag’ with /f/).

**Kenya** An East African country about 581,000 sq km in size with a population of approximately 43 million of which about 4 million live in the capital Nairobi. In the 1880s Germany began to occupy the coast of present-day Kenya after which the British East Africa Company sought to compete with the Germans. Britain took over their coastal possessions in 1890 and began with the building of a railway line through the hinterland. Two spheres of influence were created, British East Africa (roughly equivalent to Kenya and Uganda today) and German East Africa (approximately the area of present-day Tanzania). Germany lost its possessions at the end of World War I. Kenya gained its independence in 1963. English and **SWAHILI** (a lingua franca in East Africa) are official languages. The native inhabitants, which comprise nearly the entire population of the country, belong to major language groups, chiefly Bantu, Nilotic and Cushitic. The largest group is that of the Kikuyu speakers (about 22 per cent) with other Bantu language speakers such as Luhya (14 per cent) and Kamba (11 per cent). There are also significant numbers who speak a Nilotic language, mainly Luo (13 per cent). See Buregeya (2006 [6.2]), Hoffmann (2011, [6.2]), Schmied (2008a, 2008b, 2012 [6.2]), Skandera (1999, 2003 [6.2]).

**Khoisan language families** A term for groups of languages spoken by native populations in the South-West of Africa, mostly in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa (in the Kalahari Desert). These are the only languages which have phonemic clicks (along with some Bantu languages with which they have been in contact such as **XHOSA**). The area covered by these languages was much greater before Bantu peoples from Central Africa moved into the south of the continent (this explains the existence of the Khoe language Sandawe in the Great Rift Valley in central Tanzania).

**Kildare Poems** A collection of 16 medieval poems contained in the Harley 913 manuscript in the British Library. These were written in eastern Ireland in the early fourteenth century (the reference in the title is to the county of Kildare with which the poems have traditionally been associated). They are the main documents of medieval Irish English. See Hickey (2007b [3.3]).

**kinesics** The use of facial expressions, movements and gestures of the body to convey additional shades of meaning or emphasis to what one says.

**King James Bible** See AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

**Kiribati** Former Gilbert Islands, called **KIRIBATI** since independence in 1979, just south of the equator towards the centre of the Pacific. The population is about 100,000. Kiribati (a Micronesian language formerly called Gilbertese) and English are the official languages of the archipelago.

**Kiswahili** See **SWAHILI**.

**KIT lexical set** A set of words which show the reflex of a high front short lax vowel of Early Modern English [ɪ]. Most varieties of English retain this vowel unchanged but some Southern Hemisphere varieties, such as South Africa and above all New Zealand English have a centralized realization close to schwa [ə] in some words (see following entry).

Varieties which show short front vowel lowering (Canadian and Californian English) may have a lowered realization close to [e].

**KIT-BIT split** There is a split of the KIT vowel in South African English where the words *kit* [kɪt] and *bit* [bət] show different vowels. These seem to be conditioned by the consonantal environment; the higher vowel is found in the environment of velars (*kit, lick, gift*), in word-initial position (*it, in*), after /h/ (*hit, hick*) and usually before /ʃ/ (*dish, swish*). The schwa vowel typically occurs before anterior consonants (labials and alveolars), for example *swim, tin, sit, sip*.

**kitchen English** A non-linguistic term to refer to basilectal English, for example in India, which is typically found, or was found, among domestic servants whose employers spoke a more acrolectal form of the language. The term ‘butler English’ is used in a similar sense.

**KIT-KISS distinction** In Irish English the /-t/ in KIT is lenited after a vowel and before a pause so that it is realized as an apico-alveolar fricative (with the tip of the tongue): [kɪ̟]. The /-s/ in KISS is realized as a lamino-alveolar fricative (with the blade of the tongue). The two sounds are distinct and never collapsed in Irish English. The apico-alveolar fricative [t̟] has friction at a lower frequency beginning at about 3,200 Hz and the lamino-alveolar fricative [s] has a frequency concentration starting a good 1,000 Hz higher. In addition, the duration of the friction in KISS is slightly longer.

**koiné** [kɔɪ'neɪ] A term deriving from ancient Greek ‘common’ which refers to a situation where the variety of a specific area (usually that of greatest political/social prestige) is used as a general means of communication in other areas, often in an entire country. This was the case with Athenian Greek and the remaining dialects in Classical Greece and in writing also held for West Saxon vis-à-vis the other dialects of English in the Old English period.

**koinéization** A situation in which various varieties of a country or region gravitate towards a single dominant one. Historically, this happened in the Old English period because of the dominance of the West Saxon kingdom in England towards the end of the period. The term is also used when referring to dialect levelling in the early stages of NEW DIALECT FORMATION. See KOINÉ.

**Korea, South** An East Asian country occupying the southern half of the Korean peninsula with an area of 100,210 sq km and a population of over 50 million, about 24 million of whom live in the Seoul metropolitan area in the north-west of the country on the coast. Korean is the official language of the country and is spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population. English is a foreign language in Korea and knowledge of English is officially valued with a high public presence in Korea (Lawrence 2012 [7.3.4]). In the early 1990s the government instituted a promotion programme which included English teaching nationally in primary schools. The emphasis on English in education led to ‘English fever’ (Park 2009 [7.3.4]) and the spread of the language to all levels of Korean society.

**Krapp, George Philip (1872–1934)** An American linguist who initially trained as an Old English scholar but later researched his native American English producing the two books for which he is still best known, *The Pronunciation of Standard English in America* (1919) and *The English Language in America* (2 vols, 1925).

**Krio** An English-lexifier creole which developed in the nineteenth century among the freed slaves and their descendants in the area of present-day Sierra Leone, especially in the area around the capital Freetown. It was also transported to BIOKO (an island belonging to Equatorial Guinea). Krio is closely related to WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH. It has developed a written form and been used as a literary medium. See Ehret (1997 [6.1.2]) and Fyle & Jones (1980 [6.1.2]).

**Kriol** See AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL KRIOL.

**Kru Pidgin English** A term for a West African pidgin which was used by African sailors and servants in the British colonies of the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Kru survived into the twentieth century in Liberia and Ghana, where there are some speakers left.

**Kurath, Hans (1891–1992)** American dialectologist and lexicographer of Austrian extraction. He worked at different universities at the beginning of his career and in 1930 was appointed director of *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*, producing various books on the dialects of the eastern coast of America, for example *Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (1949). In 1946 he became editor of the *Middle English Dictionary*, on which he worked until his retirement in 1961.

**KwaZulu-Natal** An eastern province of South Africa on the Indian Ocean. The capital Durban was founded by English settlers in the 1840s. In the second half of the nineteenth century large numbers of Indians were transported to Natal to work on the plantations. There were different ethnicities among the Indians, for example Bhojpuri from the north-west and Tamil from the south. These groups formed the input to later SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN ENGLISH. The native population in Natal are largely Zulus, hence the present name which reflects this fact. See Mesthrie (1992 [6.3.1.4]).

# L

**/l/, diphthongization before** In the history of English low and back vowels before a velarized /l/ were frequently lengthened or diphthongized and often lost. Examples where a former /l/ was followed by a velar stop and became part of the standard are *talk*, *walk*, *chalk* (Dobson 1968 [1957]: 533 [1.5], Ekwall 1975: 63–64 [1.5]). Other instances, such as *caull* ‘call’, *gowlde* ‘gold’ (early modern spellings), did not survive in the standard. However, in some varieties this diphthongization did survive, for example in Irish English and in Scotland (McClure 1994: 48 [3.1]). There may then be a lexical split between a form of a word with a standard and a local pronunciation, for example *bold* versus *baul* [baul] ‘with sneaking admiration’ (Irish English).

**labial** A reference to a sound which is formed at the lips; this encompasses both bilabials like /p, m/ and labio-dentals like /f, v/.

**labio-dental** Describes a consonant which is formed by the lower lip making loose contact with the upper teeth as in [f] and [v].

**labio-velar** Describes a consonant which is articulated by a constriction at the velum with rounding of the lips at the same time, for example with [w] in English.

**Labov [lə'boʊ, lə'boʊ], William (1927– )** American linguist and founder of the modern discipline of sociolinguistics. Labov started his linguistic career with an investigation of the English used on a small island (Martha's Vineyard) off the coast of Massachusetts and of English in New York City. In both instances he demonstrated conclusively that the use of language, above all systematic variation, was determined by social factors such as upward mobility or group solidarity. These findings triggered much further research into language and society which has led to many insightful studies, particularly in the English-speaking world. Labov's work has also led to a reassessment of the methods and assumptions of historical linguistics.

**Labrador** *See* NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR.

**lab** *See* SINGAPOREAN ENGLISH.

**Lallans** This word is a sixteenth-century variant of *lawlands* ‘lowlands’ and came to be used to refer to Scots used east and south of the Highland Line and north of the England/Scotland border ever since the Scottish national poet Robert Burns (1759–1798) used the term, his ‘plain braid Lallans’. This vernacular was later transported to seventeenth-century Ulster. In the early twentieth century a not uncontroversial attempt was made to use an artificially mixed form of Lallans as a vehicle for literature, above all by the poet Hugh MacDiarmid (1892–1978). The Scots Language Society also publishes a journal called *Lallans* (1973–).

**language, heritage** The language spoken by one’s immediate ancestors where this is not that of the current generation in a country, for example Italian for English speakers of Italian descent in the United States.

**language academy** *See* ACADEMY.

**language acquisition** The process by which children unconsciously attain knowledge of their native language in the first years of life. Strictly speaking, acquisition is distinguished from learning, which refers to gaining knowledge of a language consciously, usually of a second language in later life. However, the term ‘acquisition’ is often used here as well.

**language acquisition device** A postulated predisposition for learning language which all humans are born with and which enables children to acquire any language in a remarkably short period of time. According to this view, the LAD consists of the structural features which are common to all languages and specific to none.

**language change** A process by which developments in a language are introduced and established. Language change is continuous and largely regular. However, the rate of change differs between languages. It depends on various factors, for example contact with other communities (usually furthering change) or standardization and education in a community (retarding change). Language internal forces also trigger change. ANALOGICAL CHANGE can result in increased regularity. REANALYSIS of input during first language acquisition can lead to structural realignments in a language. *See also* CHANGE, PRESENT-DAY GRAMMATICAL and CHANGE, PRESENT-DAY LEXICAL.

**language choice** The deliberate decision in a certain social situation to use one language as opposed to another. *See* CODE-SWITCHING.

**language contact** A situation in which speakers of two languages intermingle. The causes of this contact range from invasion and deportation to voluntary emigration to a new country. The results of this intermingling depend on external factors such as the relative status of the two linguistic groups and on internal factors such as the typological similarity of the languages involved, that is whether their grammatical structures are comparable or not. *See* Thomason (2001 [1.2.3], Hickey (ed., 2010 [1.2.3])).

**language death** The process by which a language ceases to exist. It is usually characterized by the switch-over to another language spoken in the same environment as the dying language and which is a superstrate to it, for example English vis-à-vis Manx on the Isle of Man in the twentieth century. In a few cases, as with the Caucasian language Ubykh, language death can result from all the speakers dying. Some linguists use the terms *language murder* for the scenario where speakers are forced to abandon their native language and *language suicide* for the situation in which they readily give up their native language. See Crystal (2002 [1.2.8]), Wolfram (2002 [1.2.8]) and Britain (2009 [1.2.8]).

**language disorder** An identifiable disorder in an individual's language. It may be congenital or acquired, frequently as a result of a tumour, stroke or accident.

**language loyalty** The extent to which individuals feel attached to a particular language, usually their native language, and the extent to which they support its use.

**language maintenance** The extent to which immigrant speakers retain their native language in the country they move to, for instance the relative use of Italian, Yiddish or Polish vis-à-vis English by European immigrants to the United States.

**language planning** The efforts of official bodies, usually government agencies or sometimes academies, to increase or reduce the use of a certain language or languages.

**language revitalization** A process in which attempts are made to regain a vibrant community for an endangered or even moribund language by expanding its speaker base and engendering positive attitudes towards it (successfully done in the case of Modern Hebrew). Whether this is successful depends crucially on attitudes towards the language on the part of those who could in principle switch to the language in question, for example English-speaking Irish and French-speaking Bretons.

**language shift** A situation where speakers of language A change to language B, abandoning the former in the process. Historical examples are the shift from native languages to English in North America, of aboriginal languages to English in Australia (Malcolm 2001 [8.1.1]) or the switch from Indian heritage languages to English by labourers in KwaZulu-Natal in the twentieth century (Mesthrie 1992 [6.3.1.4]). The nature of the shift determines whether B will show traits deriving from A. Language shift may take place very quickly, without any period of bilingualism; it may or may not involve formal education in B. It may occur first among adults and a characteristic second-language variety of language B may arise. Later generations may acquire this variety natively (leading to *FOCUSSING*) or may reject its features and adopt the first-language variety of B. Focussed varieties tend to show phonological and grammatical features which derive from the first language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988 [1.5]).

**language variation and change** An approach within sociolinguistics in which the mechanisms of language change are investigated minutely by observing the variation in speech which exists in communities and considering what might be responsible for this. It investigates continual change, driven by social factors, but tempered by considerations of language structure, that is by internal factors. Research into varieties of English is closely associated with this

approach and there is an academic journal with this title (see section 12 of the Reference Guide). See Tagliamonte 2006 [1.1.4].

**langue** A term used by Ferdinand de SAUSSURE to refer to the collective knowledge of language as used by members of a speech community.

**Lankan English** A collective reference to varieties of English spoken in SRI LANKA.

**larynx** The part of the neck, about 5 cm in length, which in humans houses the vocal folds which are responsible for phonation. Above the larynx is the pharynx and below is the trachea, which leads into the lungs.

**Late Modern English (1700–)** A period in the history of English which begins with the reign of Queen Anne and continues down to the present day. It embraces the eighteenth century (Hickey ed., 2010 [1.5]; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009 [1.5]), which saw the rise of the middle classes in England, of prescriptivism and of an increasingly exclusive standard, leading into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during which earlier changes were continued and an increasing diversification of English occurred due to new colonies overseas, especially in the Southern Hemisphere.

**lateral** A term referring to a sound which is produced by allowing air to pass along the sides of the mouth while keeping closure at a point in the middle. Such sounds are also called *l*-sounds.

**LAUGH-shift** The historical shift of /x/ (long since vocalized) to /f/; compare English *laughter* with German *lachen* with /-x-/ or southern English *dough* with northern *duff* ‘steamed pudding’. Further instances are to be found in historical documents such as those from the SALEM WITCH TRIALS, which have *dafter* (*dafter*) for *daughter* and *thof* for *though*.

**lavender linguistics** A term for the study of language as used by lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer individuals (abbreviated LGBTQ, where ‘Q’ can also be read as ‘questioning’). See Leap (1996 [1.1.8]), *Journal of Language and Sexuality* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012–) and QUEER LINGUISTICS.

**LAW-THOUGHT split** An allophonic split which resulted from the DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT of the 1990s. Because the raising of the THOUGHT vowel only occurred in closed syllables, the original more open pronunciation of LAW, that is [lɔ:] was retained and not raised through [lɔ:] to [lo:] as was *thought* [tɔ:tʃ]. The LAW set is now the group of words where [ɔ:] occurs in the new supraregional form of Irish English (deriving from 1990s advanced Dublin English) because the former separate NORTH lexical set has merged with the FORCE lexical set, cf. (stressed) *for* and *four*, both now [fɔ:r], not [fɔ:r] and [fɔ:r] as previously was the case.

**lax** A characteristic of vowels which are of short duration and which are articulated with less muscular tension of the tongue than tense (long) vowels.

**lay speaker** A term for an individual without linguistic training who can be taken to be largely unaware, on a conscious level, of the structure of language.



**lead variety** A term for a variety which is regarded as worthy of imitation in a country, especially in a public and/or official context. The reference is to a variety as spoken and so does not necessarily carry all the implications of standardization which the written form of language does. An instance would be (non-vernacular) American English as spoken in the Inland North and more widely in the Midwest. In Italy, for example, the lead variety is (non-vernacular) Tuscan Italian, in Germany it is (non-vernacular) Northern German.

**learned words** *See* 'HARD WORDS'.

**Leland, Charles (1824–1903)** A not uncontroversial American scholar who researched both pidgins and creoles and the language of travellers, the group then called 'gypsies'. He is also responsible for the *baby talk hypothesis*, the view that African American English developed from a simplified form of English used in communication with slaves, supposedly akin to language in early childhood, a simplistic, if not to say racist view.

**length** A characteristic of consonants and vowels. Length is phonemically distinctive for vowels in English (but not in Polish, Russian, Greek, Spanish). For consonants this is not the case, but was in Old English and is in Swedish, for instance, as seen in a word pair like *vīt* [vi:t] 'knows' and *vitt* [vitt] 'white'.

**lenis** A descriptive label applied to voiced obstruents. It refers to the relatively low muscular tension which is typical of such sounds. *See* FORTIS.

**lenition** A weakening in articulation, usually leading to a change in a consonant from voiceless to voiced, from stop to fricative or to the vocalization of a consonant entirely. In traditional Liverpool English this is a widespread phenomenon with voiceless stops /p, t, k/ realized as corresponding fricatives, that is [f, ʃ, x]. This kind of lenition, though only for alveolars, is also typical of Irish English, *see* T-FRICATION, Honeybone (2007 [2.10.1]).

**Lesotho** A landlocked state within South Africa with an area of 30,000 sq km and a population of about 2.1 million; the capital is Maseru. Formerly Basutoland, it gained its independence from Britain in 1966; English and Sesotho (Bantu) are official languages. The latter is spoken by about 85 per cent of the population. There are also speakers of Zulu and Xhosa (other Bantu languages).

**less and fewer** An area of usage variation in present-day English. Previously *fewer* was used with countable nouns and *less* with non-countable ones. But now *less* is found where *fewer* used to be mandatory, for example *There are less cars in town at the weekends*. More conservative varieties, for example Irish English, tend to keep the original distribution.

**lesser-known varieties** A collective term for varieties of English which have fewer speakers in small, often remote locations and which thus tend to be less well known among scholars in the field. Their value for variety studies is that they frequently show features and structures and/or sociolinguistic situations not found in more mainstream varieties. Examples would be varieties of English in the South Atlantic, that is on St Helena, Tristan da Cunha and the Falkland Islands, on the Orkney and Shetland Islands or on the Channel Islands or in Malta. *See* Schreier *et al.* (2010 [1.2.5]).

**LETTER lexical set** The set of words which contain the reflex of /r/ in a short unstressed syllable. For rhotic varieties this is /-ər/ (with different realizations of the /r/) and in non-rhotic ones it is simply /-ə/.

**level** One of a set of recognizable divisions in the structure of natural languages. These divisions are largely independent of each other and are characterized by rules and regularities of organization. Traditionally, five levels are recognized: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Pragmatics may also be considered as a separate level from semantics while phonetics and phonology are often grouped together as they are both concerned with sounds. Furthermore, levels may have subdivisions as is the case with morphology which falls into inflectional and derivational morphology (the former is concerned with grammatical endings and the latter with processes of word-formation).

**levelling** Any process in which a general reduction in variation occurs. Dialect levelling is a specific instance of this in which a dialect loses (salient) features, very often in a situation in which a single dominant variety is emerging.

**lexeme** The smallest (abstract) unit which is recognized as semantically independent in the lexicon of a language. A lexeme subsumes a set of forms which are related semantically, for example the lexeme WALK subsumes the various forms *walk, walks, walked, walking*.

**lexical** Pertaining to words in a dictionary and/or information deposited in the mental lexicon of the speaker.

**lexical diffusion** A postulated type of language change in which a certain innovation does not encompass all possible inputs in a language (note that the term ‘diffusion’ should not imply a slow spreading through the vocabulary). Cases of lexical diffusion are characterized by incompleteness, otherwise it is not recognizable afterwards. This type of change usually ceases before it can cover all possible instances, for example the lowering of short /ʊ/ to /ʌ/ – as in *but* /bʊt/ > /bʌt/ – in Early Modern English which does not apply to instances before [ʃ] and after a labial stop: *bush, push*. See NEOGRAMMARIAN HYPOTHESIS; Phillips (2001 [1.2.1]) and Bybee (2012 [1.2.1]).

**lexical exceptions** Exceptions to a rule, realization or instance of change which cannot be derived from the phonetics of a word. For instance, the word *steak* /steɪk/ is a lexical exception to the change in which Middle English /ɛ:/ was shifted to /i:/ in southern English English, cf. *treat, meat, seat*.

**lexical gap** A reference to a missing word/form in a language. For instance, English did not have any adjective for *sea* before the early modern period during which *marine* was created from Latin *mare* enabling compounds like *marine biology, marine life*, etc. Many such adjectives were formed, for example *equestrian* (cf. Latin *equus*) as in *equestrian centre, equestrian event*. In some cases, there was an adjective already, here: *horsey*, but it is/was not neutral. The same is true of *aquatic*, a neutral adjective for *water*, cf. *aquatic sports, aquatic centre, watery* has quite different connotations.

**lexical incidence** A reference to the occurrence of words in a lexical set. This can vary across varieties, for example in Irish English the verb *caught* /kɒt/ belongs to the *cot* lexical

set although there is a general distinction between /ɔ:/ and /ɒ/ in Irish English, unlike Canadian English, for instance. Another example is *donkey* with [ʌ] among some New Yorkers rather than the more general [ɒ] (Gordon 2008: 70 [5.1.4]), that is this word belongs to the STRUT lexical set and not to the LOT set for such speakers.

**lexical meaning** The meaning of a word which is specifiable independently of other words – ultimately with reference to the non-linguistic world – and which is independent of the grammar of the language.

**lexical sets** According to the convention introduced in Wells (1982 [1]), a lexical set is any group of words which show the same pronunciation for a key sound, irrespective of whether this is that used in standard English or not. For instance, the MOUTH LEXICAL SET refers to all words which have Middle English /u:/, later diphthongized to /au/, as historical input, irrespective of whether this is the actual pronunciation used today: one might have [u:], [æu], [əu], etc. The keyword of a lexical set is written in small capitals. Extensions were later devised to deal with consonants. See Wells (1982 [1]), Foulkes & Docherty (eds, 1999 [1]) and Appendix A.

**lexical verb** Any verb which carries an independently specifiable meaning, for example *look, take, grow, walk*. This contrasts with auxiliary or modal verbs, which must co-occur with a lexical verb, for example *have, be; can, might, would, should*.

**lexicalization** A process whereby an alternation of a word or a particular form is no longer derivable by application of a productive process; for example umlaut plurals in English such as *goose : geese* are lexicalized as there is no transparent and understandable process of umlaut in English any more. This lack of derivability can lead to semantic change; for example *business* [biznəs] is no longer viewed as a noun derived from *busy*, instead a regular formation could be used (if need be), that is *business* [bizɪnəs].

**lexicography** The technique of writing dictionaries. Among the best known of British lexicographers are Samuel JOHNSON (whose dictionary appeared in 1755) and James MURRAY, the main compiler of the first version of the *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*. In the United States the most famous lexicographer is Noah WEBSTER. See Cowie (ed., 2008 [1.5]).

**lexicology** The linguistic study of vocabulary. See LEXICOGRAPHY.

**lexicon** The vocabulary of a language. It can refer to the book form of a dictionary (usually with an alphabetic listing of words) or the lexicon which speakers possess mentally. The precise nature and organization of this mental lexicon is a matter of debate as it is generally assumed to be radically different in organization from a conventional dictionary.

**lexifier language** The language which provides the input to the lexicon of a pidgin and possibly a later creole. In historical contexts from the colonial period, the lexifier language is a European language such as English, Dutch, French, Spanish or Portuguese.

**lexis** The vocabulary of a language and the meaning relationships which obtain between its words.

**lexis, archaic** A reference to vocabulary items in a variety which either (i) embody an earlier meaning of current words, for example *bold* ‘misbehaved’, *mad* ‘very keen on’, *fall* ‘autumn’, *mail* ‘post’ in American English or (ii) do not exist anymore in standard English, for example *cog* ‘to cheat’, *mitch* ‘play truant’, *delph* ‘crocery, plates and dishes’ in Irish English.

**lexis, dialect** The vocabulary specific to a dialect. This frequently contains archaic elements which have been lost in less traditional varieties. See LEXIS, ARCHAIC.

**liaison** The pronunciation of a consonant at the end of a word when the next word begins with a vowel. Such a consonant may be etymologically justified or not. An instance of the latter is the linking *r* in many varieties of RP, cf. *law and order* pronounced as *law-r-and order*. See /R/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE.

**Liberia** A West African country between Sierra Leone and Côte d’Ivoire with an area of 99,000 sq km and a population of approximately 3.8 million. Portuguese settlers had been to the region already in the fifteenth century and in 1847 the country Liberia was established for the settlement of ex-slaves from the United States and the capital Monrovia (founded in 1822) was named after the then US president James Monroe. Because of the US background of a portion of the Liberian population structural parallels can be recognized between English there and African American English, especially in Liberian Settler English (see section 6.1.3 of the Reference Guide). English is the official language, with about 70,000 native speakers, alongside the tens of Niger-Congo languages spoken in Liberia. Pidgin varieties of English are used in Liberia for inter-ethnic communication. ‘Merico’ is a term for Americo-Liberian English and Kreyol is used for vernacular forms of English. More acrolectal forms of English show general West African features, such as the realization of /θ, ð/ as [t, d] but [f, v] may occur finally, perhaps reflecting input from African American English. There may also be a distinction between tense and lax vowels, that is [i] # [ɪ] and [u] # [ʊ]. See also KRU PIDGIN ENGLISH.

**like, focuser** A reference to the use of the pragmatic marker ‘like’, often in clause or sentence-final position, to draw attention during discourse, for example *I’m just telling you what I heard, like. And she was looking for someone, like, to do some housework for her*. This usage is found in traditional dialects in Ireland and is distinct from QUOTATIVE ‘LIKE’, though in both cases the marker has a highlighting function. See Hickey (2007b [3.3]).

**liketa** See ADVERBS, INCHOATIVE AND COUNTERFACTUAL.

**lilt** A non-linguistic term for a pleasant, often traditional, accent, probably connected to the archaic use of this word for a tune.

**Limonese Creole** See COSTA RICA.

**lingua franca** A term deriving ultimately from a pidgin used in the Mediterranean area in the late Middle Ages and referring to any language which serves as a means of communication among speakers who do not know each other’s languages, for example Latin in the past or English today.

**linguistic area** A term for a geographically delimited area in which languages, which need not be related genetically, share several features. The term is an approximate translation of

German *Sprachbund* ‘language federation’, itself from Russian *soyuz* ‘union’. There are several well-known linguistic areas, such as the Balkans, the Circum-Baltic region, India, mainland South-East Asia. Shared features arise due to continuous language contact over a long period of time and this contact furthers areality, the clustering of features in a specific area. In this latter sense, areal features can be found in the anglophone world due to the interaction of speakers of different dialect or language backgrounds. Because geographically delimited areas experience enhanced contact among those living in them, they tend to also show increased areality, for example Ireland, Newfoundland, or in the Caribbean (groups of islands). See Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.1.2])

**linguistic atlas** A collection of maps which show the geographical distribution of various key items for a set of dialects, usually the entire group for a particular language. Such an atlas was produced in England in connection with the *SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS* coordinated at Leeds under the directorship of Harold ORTON. There are similar atlases for the United States (see *ATLAS OF NORTH AMERICAN ENGLISH*) and for some smaller countries such as Scotland (in three volumes, edited by Hans H. Speitel and James Y. Mather); for Ireland there is a sound atlas, see Hickey (2004a [3.3]).

***Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States; Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States*** Two large-scale projects, the first initiated by Lee Pederson and the second by Hans KURATH, which are now under the directorship of William A. Kretzschmar Jr of the University of Georgia, Athens.

**linguistic engineering** A reference to deliberate changes in language use – frequently initiated by official agencies, government departments or by interest groups – which are intended to neutralize or (supposedly) improve language in a specific context. The many attempts to ‘desexify’ English illustrate this phenomenon, cf. the use of *Ms* [mɒz] or [mɪz] (with a final voiced fricative) for either *Mrs* (married woman) or *Miss* (unmarried woman). Included here are the several attempts to arrive at generic usage in English, for example by writing *he/she* or *(s)he* when referring to someone, such as a reader, who could be of either sex, or by using the expression *chair* to supplant both the male-oriented *chairman* and the too specific *chairperson*. The ultimate fate of such forms depends on their acceptance by the speech community into which they are introduced.

**linguistic imperialism** In many former colonies of England there is a linguistic legacy which sees the English language as a remnant of colonial domination. This is particularly the case in countries in Africa and the Caribbean. Those countries with large settler communities – the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand – have a somewhat different attitude as English in these countries largely derives from that of these settlers’ ancestors (through processes such as New Dialect Formation), though the indigenous minorities of these countries represent a different situation. In Asia the situation is more complex as there were no settler communities but there was colonialism due to the administrative and military presence of the English. See Phillipson (1992 [10.1]), Mühlhäusler (1996 [8.3]), Canagarajah (1999 [10]).

**linguistic marketplace** A notion introduced originally by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and adopted into linguistics by David Sankoff and Suzanne Laberge (see Sankoff

and Laberge 1978 [1.1.1]) and further applied by the Canadian linguist J. K. Chambers (Chambers 2009, Chapter 5 [1.1.1]) when referring to the fact that speakers' linguistic choices are determined by their position in society, either perceived or actual. Young adults make adjustments in accent and dialect when they take up occupations that require speech skills – sales, teaching, and so on. Chambers stresses that men and women act differently in the linguistic marketplace.

**linguistic minority** A small social group within a larger one which uses a different language. Such a group may be a remnant of a historically larger group, for example Frisian in Germany, or may be due to more recent migration patterns, for example Turkish in Germany, Urdu or Jamaican English in Britain, Greek, Italian or Croatian in Australia, and so on.

**linguistic prestige** Refers to the value ascribed to a variety by the whole community. In modern societies, the standard form of a language enjoys the greatest overt prestige. *See* PRESTIGE, OVERT AND COVERT.

**linguistic stigma** The condemnation of certain forms in a language by those in a community or society who do not use these forms. Stigma is generally attached to vernacular forms and structures, for example *seen* as the simple past or *them* as a demonstrative. There is no justification for such stigma; it usually arises because of negative attitudes to non-standard speakers.

**linguistic subordination** A reference to the fact that the speech of a socially subordinate group is interpreted as inadequate by comparison with that of socially dominant groups.

**linguistic universals** A postulated set of linguistic features which are common to all languages and which ultimately derive from our psychological make-up and our perception of the world, for example the existence of subject, predicate, object or first, second and third pronouns across the languages of the world.

**linguistic variable** A reference to a feature of a language/variety which shows particular variation in a speech community; speakers may or may not be aware of this variation. In NEW YORK ENGLISH and DUBLIN ENGLISH the realization of /r/ is just such a variable. In northern England the absence of a distinction between the vowels in *but* and *bush* would be an instance (FOOT-STRUT SPLIT). Linguistic variables may be binary (presence or absence) or scalar (with values on a continuum). The latter is true of phonological variables. Examples of grammatical variables are double negation, the use of *ain't* and the lack of marking with verbs in the third person singular in African American English. Variables can also be assessed quantitatively, that is how often a certain realization occurs in the speech of speakers and/or across those in different social groups. A common non-linguistic designation for a linguistic variable, of which speakers are aware, is a SHIBBOLETH.

**linguistics** The study of language. As a scientific discipline built on objective principles, linguistics did not really develop until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The approach was at first historical as linguists were mainly concerned with the reconstruction of the Indo-European family, above all its earliest languages. With the advent of structuralism at the beginning of the twentieth century, it became oriented towards viewing language at one point

in time. The middle of the twentieth century saw a radically new approach, generative grammar, which stressed our unconscious knowledge of language and the underlying structures to be found in all languages.

**link language** A term used to describe a language employed in inter-ethnic communication where the participants do not speak each other's language. *See* LINGUA FRANCA.

**linking r** *See* /R/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE.

**liquid** A cover term for /l/ and /r/ sounds. Both of these show high sonority and they exhibit a tendency to vocalize, compare RP *pear* /peə/ with /ə/ from /r/ and Cockney *till* /tiʊ/ with /ʊ/ from /l/ (= [ɫ]). *See* SONORITY.

**-lish(es)** An ending sometimes used to refer to varieties of English which show the significant influence of another language, for example *Spanglish* for Spanish English. The term may also make a geographical reference, for example *SINGLISH* for (vernacular) Singapore English, *Chinglish* for Chinese English, and so on.

**lipping** *See* SPEECH DISORDER/SPEECH DEFECT

**literary caricature** A kind of fictional writing in which non-standard speakers of English are portrayed, normally as stock figures of fun. Drama is the most common genre here, but the direct speech sections of short stories and novels can also contain caricature. The linguistic value of such portrayals lies in the use of supposedly salient features. Where no other data is available for a variety or group then such caricatures can be used – cautiously – as a source of linguistic information. *See* Hickey (ed., 2010 [1.4.1]).

**Liverpool** A port city in the lower north-west of England where the river Mersey enters the Irish Sea. The Liverpool City Region, which in its hinterland reaches back towards Manchester, has a population of approximately 1.4 million. The local dialect of the city is called SCOUSE and is known for the LENITION of voiceless stops as well as for TH-STOPPING.

**L-language** A label used for that language in a diglossic situation which is used in domestic and informal occasions, for example local variants of Arabic in Arab countries or Schwyzerdütsch (a set of local forms of German) in German-speaking Switzerland. The L-language need not be related to the H-language, for example in Paraguay where this is Guaraní (a native American language belonging to the Tupian group of Andean-Equatorial languages) but the H-language is Spanish. *See* H-LANGUAGE.

**Llanito [janito]** A form of Andalusian Spanish, used in Gibraltar, which shows the strong influence of English, especially in vocabulary. The term 'Llanito' is sometimes used for a person from Gibraltar.

**loanword** Any word which can be shown to have been imported from one language into another, that is which does not represent a historical continuation of an earlier form (although loanwords may be related at greater time depth). The word *mental* is a Latin loan showing the stem *mens, ment-* in the latter language. However, it is ultimately related to English *mind* as



both this word and Latin *mens* ‘mind’ stem from the same root in Indo-European. See NATIVE WORD.

**loanwords, neoclassical** A term for loanwords from Classical Latin and Greek. It also covers loan creations, that is words in English (as well as other modern languages) which are formed by using lexical elements from Classical Latin and Greek, for example *biology* from Greek *bios* ‘life’ and *-logy* ‘the study of’ related to Greek *logos* ‘word’, *astrology* from Greek *astron* ‘star’, etc.

**locative** Any linguistic expression which has spatial reference. Synthetic languages frequently have special case marking on nouns when they are used in a locative sense. There is a close connection between location and existence, which has led in many languages, including English, to existential expressions based on locative adverbs, for example *There are fifty states in the United States*.

**locutionary act** A type of speech act which is defined by making a meaningful utterance. See PERLOCUTIONARY FORCE and ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE.

**London** The largest city and capital of the United Kingdom, situated in the south-east of England on the Thames before its estuary into the North Sea. It consists of two ceremonial counties (a type with a Lord Lieutenant, a representative of the monarch): (1) the City of London (just over a square mile) and (2) since 1965, Greater London with 32 boroughs (total area: 1,572 sq km). London has a population of well over 8 million. A settlement at the site of London is recorded for Roman Britain (first four centuries CE). It gained substantially in status with the Norman invasion of 1066 after which it became the capital of the country (replacing Winchester). London has since been the seat of the court, government and most major public bodies, including legal institutions, but not of the Church of England whose centre is Canterbury in Kent. London has always been the printing centre of England, dominating the book and newspaper market.

The speech of London and the HOME COUNTIES came to be seen as the lead variety from the sixteenth century onwards. However, there is a local dialect spoken in London, COCKNEY, which did not feed into the standard which was codified in the eighteenth century. Instead it was middle- and upper-class usage which became increasingly less regionally bound and favoured in elite schools and in public usage in general. This nineteenth-century pronunciation standard has its continuation in RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION and in a much diluted form in ESTUARY ENGLISH.

London is an ethnically and racially mixed city which has had much immigration from regions of England throughout its history and after World War II from former colonies (for example Jamaica, India, Pakistan) and most recently from new Eastern European members of the European Union. It would thus be difficult to speak of ‘London English’ as a single coherent variety. Rather the capital is marked by several (first-language) varieties on a cline from Cockney to Received Pronunciation, often determined by what part of the city people live in. Many people of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds are speakers of second-language varieties of English in London. See section 2.7.1 of the Reference Guide.

**Long U-retention** A reference to the retention of historical /u:/ in words like *cook*, *book* in traditional dialects of English. In more standard varieties of English these words show a short vowel as can words like *room* (in non-vernacular English English).

**longitudinal studies** Studies of varieties over a period of many years. The advantage of such studies is that changes in the speech of speakers can be tracked in REAL TIME. Longitudinal studies can sometimes involve the same speakers, though it is more common for this not to be the case.

**LOT lexical set** A set whose members show the reflex of Middle English short /o/. This vowel is generally a rounded low back vowel, [ɒ]. In parts of the United States and throughout Canada this vowel has merged with the CAUGHT vowel, *see* COT-CAUGHT MERGER.

**LOTE** An acronym from ‘Languages Other Than English’, taught as a subject in Australian schools.

**LOT-THOUGHT merger** *See* COT-CAUGHT MERGER.

**Louisiana Creole** A creole form of French spoken in southern Louisiana by people descended from early French settlers in the region (along with some Spanish). *See* CAJUN ENGLISH.

**Louisiana Purchase** The acquisition in 1803 by the United States government, during the presidency (1801–1809) of Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), of an area in excess of 2 million sq km in the centre of North America for 15 million dollars from France. The roughly V-shaped area covers that of 15 present-day states from Montana and North Dakota in the north to Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana in the south. The purchase also included small parts of what were later the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. With this purchase the area of the then United States doubled.

**Low Country (or Lowcountry)** A term for the coastal region in the south of South Carolina and extending into neighbouring Georgia. The area includes the Sea Islands, the traditional homeland of the creole GULLAH. The major city of the region is CHARLESTON. *See* SOUTH CAROLINA.

**low vowel** Any vowel produced with the tongue at greatest distance from the roof of the mouth, usually with an open jaw position, for example [æ], [a] and [ɑ].

**low-back merger** *See* COT-CAUGHT MERGER.

**low-contact varieties** Varieties of English which have not experienced extended periods of contact with speakers of other dialects or languages. In general traditional dialects in England are such low-contact varieties. Typically, low-contact varieties show retentions of earlier forms of the language in morphology. High-contact varieties on the other hand may have restructured morphological distinctions or have lost these entirely.

**Lower South** A geographical term referring to states in the present-day south of the United States, for example Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama. It contrasts with the (historical) South which is the current south-east of the United States (from Virginia down to Georgia).

**Lowlands, Scottish** An area of Scotland south of the mountainous highlands and north of the Borders region (along the border with England). The Lowlands contain the Central Belt between Glasgow and Edinburgh, the area of greatest population density in Scotland.

**Lowth, Bishop Robert (1710–1787)** Author of a normative, prescriptive grammar – *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) – which achieved great popularity for the manner in which it specified accepted grammatical usage at the time. Lowth was professor of poetry in Oxford and later bishop of Oxford and of London (as of 1777). This work led to later imitations and commentaries such as John Ash *Grammatical Institutes; or an Easy Introduction to Dr. Lowth's Grammar* (1763). See Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (2009 [1.5], 2010 [1.5]).

**Loyalists** In the context of the American Revolution, loyalists were those settlers who remained loyal to Britain and were not in favour of American independence. Many of them, about a fifth, sought refuge in Canada (then part of British North America) in the early 1780s and are known as United Empire Loyalists. Some travelled across land to Ontario (then Upper-Canada) while others used the sea passage arriving in Nova Scotia (later divided into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick). To accommodate the loyalists who settled on the northern shores of the Great Lakes (present-day southern Ontario) Upper Canada was created as an administrative region by the British with Lower Canada (approximately present-day Quebec) the region north of the St Lawrence estuary and north-eastwards to present-day Labrador. The linguistic input of the loyalists was significant in maintaining the general linguistic similarity of English in the later United States and Canada.

**Lumbee English** English as spoken by more than 40,000 Native American Lumbee in North Carolina, mostly in Robeson County (the name derives from the Lumber River). The Lumbee have been speakers of English for more than two centuries and acquired the English dialects they were exposed to, showing features like *A-PREFIXING* and lexical elements like *airish* ‘cool, breezy’, *young ’uns* ‘young children’ which it shares with Appalachian English. It is unclear what native language(s) the Lumbee spoke originally (see Wolfram and Dannenberg 1999: 183–184; 192–207 [5.1.13] for a summary of current views and for grammatical features). The popular notion that they are linked to the Lost Colony of ROANOKE ISLAND is not supported by scholars.

**L-velarization** The pronunciation of /l/-sounds with the body of the tongue arched downwards and the back raised towards the velum resulting in a characteristic hollow sound, represented as [ɫ] in the IPA. L-velarization is very common in languages and dialects, for example in Finnish or Rhenish German. If the tip of the tongue does not make contact with the alveolar ridge, then the [ɫ] is realized as a high back vowel [ʊ], that is one has L-VOCALIZATION. This stage has been reached by Polish and Brazilian Portuguese and longer ago by Dutch (cf. *oud* ‘old’) and by English in words like *walk*, *talk*, *stalk*. In English English L-velarization in syllable codas is widespread and in Cockney [ɫ] is [ʊ], for example *milk* [mʊk]. Some varieties, for example in the north-west of England, can have [ɫ] in syllable-initial position as well, for example *last* [ɫæst]. A related phenomenon is the pharyngealization of laterals as is found in non-vernacular Dublin English where the tongue root is retracted somewhat leading to slight pharyngeal constriction and a low off-glide [ɐ] rather than the back off-glide [ʊ] to the lateral, for example *field* [fi:ɸʲɪd].

**L-vocalization** A phonetic process whereby a velarized /l/ (= [ɫ]) is realized as [ʊ], see L-VELARIZATION. Such vocalization is a different process from the deletion of /l/ in forms of American English where it may be sensitive to the position in a word, only occurring before labials (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 82 [5.1]), for example *help* [hep]. In other cases the deletion of /l/ is due to the simplification of word-final consonant clusters (Mufwene 2001: 296 [1.2]) and not to the progression from a velarized lateral to a vowel. L-vocalization is a well attested process in the history of Scots (Stuart-Smith 2008: 65 [3.1]).

# M

**Macaulay, Thomas Babington (1800–1859)** English writer, historian and politician. After the passing of the Government of India Act (1833) he went to India and then served on the Supreme Council of India. By his famous Minute of 1835 the use of English was officially introduced into India and furthered by the colonial government. The purpose, according to Macaulay's Minute, was to create 'a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect'. The text also contains the following remarks on language: 'To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.'

**Mackem** A popular reference to the dialect of Sunderland in the north-east of England.

**Magellan, Ferdinand (c.1480–1521)** A Portuguese/Spanish explorer, the first to circumnavigate the world.

**main clause** Any clause which is independent of other clauses and which can form a sentence on its own, for example *This is my brother* [*who lives in London*].

**malapropism** The use of a word which is not the one which is intended. This occurs because of the phonetic similarity between the intended word and the one actually used, for example saying *deduct* for *deduce* or *ulster* for *ulcer* in Irish English. The term is derived from the character of Mrs Malaprop in the play *The Rivals* (1775) by the Irish playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816).

**Malawi** A landlocked country in Southern Africa on the western shore of Lake Nyasa, formerly called Nyasaland, with an area of 118,000 sq km and a population of about 15 million of which about 800,000 live in the capital Lilongwe. It gained its independence from the

United Kingdom in 1964. English is an official language although it is spoken by less than 2 per cent as a first language. Chichewa (Nyanja) is the main Bantu language, spoken by about 50 per cent of the population.

**Malay** A western Austronesian language spoken chiefly in Malaysia and Indonesia by over 150 million people of whom about 40 million are native speakers. The earliest inscriptions date from the seventh century written in an Indian script. Later the language came to be written in its classical form in Arabic script. The pidgin Bazaar Malay was used during the British colonial period. Since the political separation of Malaysia and Indonesia differences in vocabulary between varieties of Malay in both countries have arisen. There are also other communities of Malay, for instance, in Singapore and (to a much lesser extent) in Sri Lanka and formerly in South Africa where it used to be spoken by the Cape Malay.

**Malaysia** A South-East Asian state consisting of territory on the mainland (between Thailand and Singapore on the Malay peninsula), called Peninsular (or West) Malaysia and of the provinces on the north of the Borneo (Sarawak and Sabah), known collectively as East Malaysia. It has a population of about 29 million and an area of 330,000 sq km. The capital Kuala Lumpur is situated on the mainland. Ethnically, Malaysia is just over half Malay with about 24 per cent Chinese as well. It achieved its independence from Britain in 1957 after which Bahasa Malaysia (standard Malay) was made the official language. The position of English diminished during the 1960s but has recovered since and is used as the premier second language. Manglish is a term for vernacular Malaysian English which shows the influence Malay, Chinese and Tamil, much as in Singapore. Some Thai is spoken in Peninsular Malaysia and there are some creole speakers who use Portuguese- and Spanish-lexifier creoles. See Baskaran (2008a [7.2.1], 2008b [7.2.1]).

**Maldives, The** An island nation in the Indian Ocean south-west of the Indian mainland consisting of two chains of islands aligned in a north–south direction. These have a total area of 298 sq km and a population of about 330,000. After its independence from England in 1965 Dhivehi, a south Indo-Aryan language, was made the official language but English is widespread as a second language.

**Malta** The Republic of Malta consists of the main island Malta and the considerably smaller island Gozo to the north-west, together some 316 sq km. The capital is Valletta. Its conurbation, stretching on both sides along the coast and inland, is home to the majority of the 420,000 Maltese. Located in the centre of the Mediterranean, Malta has had a long and chequered history, being occupied or experiencing attempts at occupation by many European and Asia Minor powers through the centuries. Malta achieved its independence from Britain in 1964 and declared itself a republic in 1974. Since 2004 it has been a member of the European Union. Both English and Maltese (Malti) are official languages in the country. Knowledge of Italian, the official language until 1934, is waning given the use of Maltese as a vernacular and the predominance of English in official domains.

Maltese English has been influenced by both Maltese and Italian, for example in the number of loanwords from both these languages. In pronunciation there can be a conflation of long and short vowels, for example *live* and *leave*, both [liv]. The THIN and THIS lexical sets show stop realizations. Voiceless stops tend to be unaspirated and voiced stops are devoiced in final position, for example *five* [faif]. The syllable-timing nature of Maltese results in more equal

stress on words in sentences than would be found in standard varieties of English. Topicalization is common, perhaps reflecting Italian influence, for example *Maltese English, I do not use a lot*. See Mazzon (1992 [4.3], 1993 [4.3]), Krug & Rosen (2012 [4.3]).

**Maltese** A Semitic language spoken by over 300,000 people on the island of Malta. It is quite far removed from Arabic as it has been heavily influenced by European languages, notably Italian, and has many loanwords from these. Classical Arabic, the language of the Koran, is not used on Malta as the majority of the population is Catholic. Maltese is written with the Roman alphabet.

**Man, Isle of** *See* ISLE OF MAN.

**manner of articulation** One of the three conventional parameters (the others are place of articulation and voice) used to specify how a sound is produced. Common types are plosives, fricatives and affricates.

**Maori** [ma:ɔɾi] A Polynesian (Austronesian) language spoken by about 150,000 people in New Zealand (self-reporting of competence). Polynesian migration many centuries ago led to its presence in New Zealand. During the colonial period (nineteenth century) Maori was repressed by the English-speaking population. However, its position in New Zealand society has improved in the second half of the twentieth and into the twenty-first century (Harlow 2007 [8.2.1]).

**Maori English** Varieties of English as spoken in New Zealand by individuals with a Maori background, usually first language speakers but also those whose language competence is greater in English. Prominent features of these varieties are (1) devoicing of final /z/, for example *toys* [tɔɪs]; (2) lack of aspiration with /t/ in word-initial position; (3) TH-STOPPING and some TH-FRONTING, especially among younger speakers; (4) a tendency towards SYLLABLE-TIMING.

**maps, linguistic** Linguistic maps can either take the form of display maps or interpretative maps. Display maps reveal the geographical distribution of dialect items. Interpretative maps are often based on display maps or dialect surveys and make more general statements regarding items in various regions. Interpretative maps simplify display maps as they represent large-scale patterns and distributions.

**margin** The part of a syllable which flanks both sides of the nucleus, for example in *stopped* /stɒpt/ the margins are /st-/ and /-pt/ respectively.

**Maritimes** A part of eastern Canada which consists of the provinces New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. The Maritimes received English input at an early stage, almost exclusively from New England, starting in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht and thus some 60 years prior to large-scale immigration to central Canada. Together with Newfoundland and Labrador the Maritimes form the Atlantic provinces.

**marked forms** A reference to unexpected or salient features of language. A feature can be marked by being somehow unusual, for example by seldom occurring in the languages of the world (statistical markedness). Derived from this (and not without circularity) is the notion of *naturalness* which is said to apply to unmarked forms, that is those which are unlikely to arise

in languages and hence are statistically rare. Defining naturalness in independent terms has proved intractable, but phonetic difficulty (in articulation or perception) and mental processing of syntactic structures (such as multiple embedding) have been identified as playing a role.

**markers** In the Labovian tradition of sociolinguistics markers are features which are sociolinguistically relevant and which tend to disappear in more formal styles, for example when reading word lists. T-glottalization is a marker of vernacular Dublin English, for example *pity* [pɪʔi], where many speakers replace the glottal stop by the apico-alveolar fricative [ɬ] in more careful speech. *See* INDICATORS.

**markers, preverbal** Formal indicators of grammatical categories, in this case those which precede the verb they qualify. Such markers are regarded as typical of creoles (Schneider 1990: 89–91 [5.3]), for example *go* for indicating the future and *done* for a past state.

**Maroon** A term for runaway slaves and their descendants, chiefly in central parts of the Americas, who escaped colonial control and formed their own groups, often in the inaccessible interior of countries like Suriname or Jamaica. The term may come from French *marron* ‘feral person’, itself from Spanish *cimarrón* ‘runaway slave’.

**Maroon Spirit Language** A distinctive form of speech used by present-day Maroons who are the descendents of runaway slaves in early colonial Jamaica (Patrick 2008: 609 [5.3.1]).

**Marshall Islands, The** An island state located in the west-central Pacific (Micronesia) with an area of 181 sq km and a population of about 70,000. The first Europeans to visit the archipelago were the Spanish in the eighteenth century who later sold the islands to Germany (1884). With the end of World War I the Japanese controlled the islands under the South Pacific Mandate of the League of Nations but in World War II they were taken over by the United States. The country was subsequently under the jurisdiction of the United States but gained its independence in 1986. Official languages are Marshallese, an Austronesian language, and English.

**Martha’s Vineyard** The name of an island south of Cape Cod in Massachusetts which is a popular summer destination for mainlanders. In the early 1960s the sociolinguist William LABOV investigated English spoken on the island by its inhabitants and demonstrated that identity with the island and its culture was reflected in the use of linguistic features such as diphthongs with central starting points, [əɪ] and [əʊ].

**MARY-MERRY-MARRY merger** A common merger in the anglophone world, but especially in the United States where there is often no distinction in length between MARY and MERRY nor of height between MERRY and MARRY (on the situation in Canada, see Boberg 2008a: 151–152 [5.2]). Some varieties show a part of the possible three-way merger, for example in local Dublin English where only the length distinction is lost, that is MARY and MERRY can be homophones. The three sets mentioned may in some cases show a further merger with the vowel in MURRAY, removing a former four-way distinction.

**Mascarene Islands** A group of islands in the Indian Ocean east of Madagascar consisting of Mauritius and Rodrigues (now independent of Britain) and Réunion (an overseas department of France).



**Mason–Dixon Line** A line of demarcation drawn in the 1760s by two English surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, to resolve a border dispute in the British colonies of that time. The line runs in a horizontal direction and turns downwards to the right. The horizontal section is now the southern border of Pennsylvania with West Virginia and Maryland and the vertical section is the eastern border of Delaware. The line resulted in a small wedge of land, due to the curved border of Delaware at the time, which did not become part of this state until 1921.

**mass noun / uncountable noun** A type of noun which cannot be enumerated, occur in the plural or take an indefinite article, for example *information* in English but not *\*informations* or *\*an information*. See COLLECTIVE NOUN.

**Massachusetts Bay Colony** A settlement in early seventeenth-century North America in the area of Salem and present-day Boston. The colony administered large parts of the area known as NEW ENGLAND.

**matched-guise technique** A method sometimes used in sociolinguistics for evaluating informants' reactions to dialects and sociolects. The technique involves a speaker reading a passage of text in two or more different accents. The informants are unaware that in each case it is the same person reading and they are requested to rate the tape-recorded playback of each reading. The result is taken to reflect attitudes to linguistic stereotypes, since all other variables – bar accent – are constant across different readings.

**Mauritius** An island nation in the Indian Ocean, east of Madagascar with an area of 2,040 sq km and a population of about 1.3 million. The island was discovered by the Portuguese in 1505 and then by the Dutch in 1598, from whom the name derives (called after the Dutch prince Maurits van Nassau), and for a few decades in the early seventeenth century a colony of Dutch settlers was maintained. In 1710 the Dutch abandoned the island and in 1715 the French took it over renaming it Île de France. The French East India Company administered the island until 1767 and from then until 1810 it was ruled by the French government. After this date the British took control and Mauritius remained a colony until independence in 1968. Linguistically, colonial legacies in Mauritius are obvious in the use of English and French along with the French-lexifier Mauritian Creole. Variants of the latter are spoken on the islands of Rodrigues and the two Agalega Islands, 1,100km north of Mauritius and governed by it. There is also a considerable Indian and a smaller Arabic population on Mauritius with the Indo-Mauritians favouring the use of English.

**maxims of conversation** See CONVERSATIONAL MAXIMS.

**McDavid, Raven (1911–1984)** American dialectologist who was actively engaged in the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* and was one of its principal fieldworkers (see also KURATH, HANS (1891–1992)).

**meaning, grammatical** A type of meaning which is determined by the grammatical context in which a form occurs. Typical elements with grammatical meaning are prepositions, articles or conjunctions.

**meaning, lexical** A type of meaning which is specifiable independently of other words or of grammatical context. The lexical meaning of *table* is 'a piece of furniture with a horizontal surface designed to be sat at'.

**meaning, sentence** A further type of meaning in which the sentence structure together with lexical and grammatical meaning determines what is meant. For instance, the role of a noun as subject or object is significant in determining the meaning of an entire sentence.

**meaning, utterance** A kind of meaning which refers to the context in which a sentence is spoken with the latter determining what is actually meant, for instance the sentence *It's draughty in here* can be taken to have utterance meaning as a request to close a window or door; *see* INDIRECT SPEECH ACT.

**MEAT-MEET distinction** A distinction in some traditional dialects of English, above all in Ireland, whereby Middle English /ɛ:/ was only raised to /e:/ and Middle English /e:/ was raised to /i:/ (one step for each original vowel). Hence words written with <ea>, as in *beat*, representing ME /e:/, have /e:/ but those with <ee>, as in *beet*, representing ME /e:/ have /i:/. The distinction is now only observed in strongly vernacular varieties.

**media, language and the** An issue in sociolinguistic views of language change is whether this can spread via the media, above all television. Opinions are divided here. Some cases of change spreading to areas far from the capital of a country, for example TH-FRONTING from south-east England to Glasgow or the DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT to far-removed rural areas, could perhaps be accounted for by appeal to television as a device for the spread of very specific features in cases of high exposure to these. See Stuart-Smith (2006 [1.1.18]; 2012 [1.1.18]) and Johnson & Ensslin (2007 [1.1.18]).

**medium** The means used to transmit a message, for example air (for spoken language), writing (for texts).

**Melanesian Pidgin English** Melanesia is an area of the South-West Pacific characterized by pidgins and second-language varieties rather than native-speaker, settler forms of English as in Australia and New Zealand. The term *Melanesian Pidgin English* is often used to refer to the assumed unified pidgin of the nineteenth century and to the present-day pidgins of the region spoken in Papua New Guinea (*Tok Pisin*), on the Solomon Islands (*Pijin*) and in Vanuatu (*Bislama*). It is arguable whether these are mutually comprehensible, particularly as they have been exposed to different European lexifier languages, for example French in Vanuatu and German to a limited extent in Papua New Guinea. More important, however, is the difference in substrate input at the various locations (see Table 11).

**Table 11** Varieties which developed from Melanesian Pidgin English.

Tok Pisin	Papua New Guinea	It exists as a creole, is available in a written form and has official status. It is important as a lingua franca as Papua New Guinea is linguistically highly diverse (it has the highest density of languages in the world).
Pijin	Solomon Islands	Spoken on these islands (immediately east of Papua New Guinea) by about half the population.
Bislama	Vanuatu	Vanuatu lies somewhat further away to the south-east of Papua New Guinea. Bislama has official status there, alongside English and French.

**Mencken, Henry Louis (1880–1956)** American journalist and author. Born in Baltimore where he later worked as a journalist and essayist attacking bourgeois complacency (see the collection *Prejudices*, 6 vols, 1919–1927). In linguistics he is remembered for his study *The American Language* (1919 with later editions and supplements) which was instrumental in raising awareness of American English.

**merger** The fusion of two sounds such that only one results. For instance, Middle English /e:/, as in *meet*, was raised to /i:/ and the /ɛ:/ vowel in *meat* was also raised, first to /e:/ with most instances then joining /i:/, producing the homophony of pairs like *meat* and *meet*. However, not all instances went through the second stage of raising, for example *great*, *steak*, *break* which have mid vowels (see GREAT VOWEL SHIFT). A merger is generally taken to be irreversible but different varieties of a language may not show the same mergers, a situation which may lead to the reintroduction of non-merged forms, see BILE-BOIL DISTINCTION; NEAR-MERGER.

**merger reversal** Whether a merger can be reversed is a matter of debate with majority opinion claiming that this is not possible. However, apparent cases, such as the reintroduction of a distinction between the vowels in *bile* and *boil* after the eighteenth century in southern England, can have different explanations. For instance, maybe not all varieties underwent the merger so that later speakers would have heard the non-merged pronunciations. In addition spelling pronunciations would have strengthened the distinction between the two vowels.

**mergers, pre-lateral** See FILL-FEEL MERGER.

**mergers in American English dialects** There are basically three groups here: (1) Those involving vowel quality, for example merger of /ɒ:/ and /ɒ/ *caught* – *cot*, merger of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/: *pen* – *pin*; (2) those involving vowel length, for example merger of /i:, ɛ:, u:/ and /ɪ, ɛ, ʊ/ before /l/ in Texas and large parts of the South: *field*, *filled*; *sale*, *sell*; *pool*, *pull*; and (3) mergers before /r/, for example /eɪ, ɛ, æ, ʌ/: *Mary*, *merry*, *marry*, *Murray* (maximum degree of merger). See Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2006: 71 [5.1]).

**meronymy** A type of semantic change in which a part of something comes to stand for the whole, for example *hand* for *labourer* (because such individuals use their hands when working). See METONYMY.

**Merriam-Webster** An American firm which publishes reference works, notably those which derive from the original *American Dictionary of the English Language* by Noah WEBSTER.

**Merseyside** See LIVERPOOL.

**Mersey–Wash line** An imaginary line running from the Mersey estuary near Liverpool in the north-west of England across and down to the bay of the Wash, north of East Anglia on the North Sea coast. It is often regarded as an approximate boundary between northern and southern forms of English in England. See NORTHERN ENGLISH. Some northern features, such as the lack of the FOOT-STRUT split, may reach down further south than this.

**mesolect** The variety in a creole continuum which is in the middle between the most creole-like form (basilect) and the more standard-like form (acrolect).

**metalanguage** The language which is used to discuss language data. *See* OBJECT LANGUAGE.

**metanalysis** A historically unmotivated division or fusion of article plus noun. An example is the French loan *naperon* which was later interpreted as *an apron* and the native word *nadder* which later resulted in *an adder*. Many instances of metanalysis occur in first language acquisition on an individual level, for example *an egg* [ə-neg], but only a few have become established in the adult language of an entire speech community.

**metaphor** The application of a word to something with which it is figuratively but not literally associated, for example *food for thought*. This process is very common in the use of language and may lead to changes in grammar as with the verb *go* in English where its spatial meaning has come to be used metaphorically for temporal contexts as in *He's going to learn Russian*.

**metathesis** [mɪ'tæθɪsɪs] The reversal of the linear sequence of sounds in a word. A common form of metathesis in the history of English (Jespersen 1940 [1909]: 25 [1.5]) is the reversal of /r/ and a short vowel, for example *three*~*third*; *bird*<Middle English *brid(d)*. Metathesis is most frequent with vowels but is also found with consonants, for example *waps* for *wasp*, both historically and regionally in English. It has survived in many varieties as far apart as southern Irish English, cf. *pattern* /pætrən/, *secretary* /sekərteri/, and African American English, cf. *aks/ax* /æks/ for *ask* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 59 [5.1]). *See* ASK-METATHESIS.

**metonymy** A type of semantic change in which a single aspect of a meaning or an attribute is used for the entire phenomenon, for example *Whitehall* for the English parliament, *Paris* for the French government, *The White House* for the US administration. *See* MERONYMY.

**microlinguistic** A reference to any study of language which takes a small data base and concentrates on details rather than on undertaking a large-scale analysis.

**Micronesia** One of the three ethnographic divisions of the Oceanic area, the other two being Melanesia and Polynesia. It is the area north of Papua New Guinea and west of the Philippines. It contains over 2,000 islands, including the Marshall Islands, Kiribati, Guam and the Federated States of Micronesia.

**mid vowel** Any vowel between the high and low positions. Typical vowels in this area are /ɛ/, /e/ (front) and /ɔ/, /o/ (back).

**Middle English (1066–c.1500)** A reference to the forms of English spoken in the period from about 1100 to 1500 (Horobin and Smith 2002 [1.5]). More precisely, the beginning is set by the Norman invasion of 1066 and the end is often seen as 1476, when William Caxton (c.1422–1491) introduced printing to England and so heralded in a period in which the spelling of English was increasingly standardized.

**Middle English Dictionary** A large book project completed by a research team based at the University of Michigan in 2001. An online version, which allows for flexible cross-referencing and linking and which contains a comprehensive bibliography and collection of texts, is available online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>.

**Middle Passage** The transit route from West Africa to the Caribbean which was infamous during the slave trade (*see* TRADE TRIANGLE). A considerable number of Africans, forced to make the journey in appalling conditions on ships, did not survive the crossing.

**Middlesbrough** A city in north-east England which arose during the nineteenth century as a result of industrialization of the region. It saw a great influx of workers from outside the area, notably from Ireland. See Beal, Burbano Elizondo and Llamas (2012 [2.10]).

**Midland region** A dialect region in the east-central United States postulated by Hans Kurath in *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (1949) and covering most of PENNSYLVANIA and the adjoining Appalachian mountains. Later scholars (*see* Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006 [5.1.2]) confirmed its existence as a zone between the Inland North and the Upper South, although Carver (1987 [5.1.2]), whose classification was based on lexical material, did not explicitly recognize a Midland region which for him was contained in the Lower North and the Upper South. See Johnson (1994 [5.1.6]), Montgomery (2004 [5.1.6]) and Ash (2006 [5.1.6]).

**Midlands, East** The eastern half of central England, bordering on the east with East Anglia, which had a recognizable form of Middle English which was distinct from that further west.

**Midlands, West** The western half of central England, bordering on the west with Wales, which had a recognizable form of Middle English which was distinct from that further east. Some features of this dialect can be detected in modern English written forms, for instance the spelling *busy* where the *u* indicated /y/, the West Midland equivalent of East Midland /i/, hence the modern pronunciation of this word as [bisi] (because of the later shift of /y/ to /i/).

**Mid-Ulster English** A reference to varieties spoken by the population of Ulster derived from English settlers of the seventeenth century who largely settled in the centre of the province. It is one of the two major linguistic groupings in Northern Ireland, the other being ULSTER SCOTS.

**Midwest** A geographical term for the central-northern area of the United States which extends from Ohio in the east to North and South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas in the west. It can be defined geographically by the large flat expanse between the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the west, the Southern states (Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee) in the south, the Appalachian Mountains in the east and by the border with Canada, including the Great Lakes, in the north.

**migration, internal** (i) At the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century large numbers of African Americans from the South migrated northwards to the cities of the north-east and the Inland North searching for work in the new urban industries which required a large labour force, above all the automobile industry in cities like Detroit (among the migrants from south to north were also poor whites). This migration, and later movements out of the South, led to concentrations of African Americans in large cities and led to urban varieties of African American English arising. See Anderson (2008 [5.1.10]). (ii) A practice of moving people from one part of the British Empire to another during the colonial period to offset a shortage of labour, especially after the abolition of slavery in 1834. For instance,

people from north-western and southern India were settled in KwaZulu-Natal in the second half of the nineteenth century. Indians, speakers of Indo-Aryan languages, were also settled in Fiji (Pacific), in Trinidad (Caribbean) and in Guyana (South America) during the nineteenth century.

**Milroy, James and Lesley** British sociolinguists whose pioneering work in Belfast in the 1970s demonstrated that social NETWORK ties are essential factors determining language use and systemic variation. Change can emanate in their view from those speakers with loose ties as they move in society and are not bound by vernacular linguistic norms in a given social network. *See* INTERLOPER.

**Milton Keynes** A city, some 120 km north of London, which was originally founded as a site for housing government officials. Those who settled in the city were from various parts of Britain. However, their children adopted the accent of the surrounding area, that is regional English of the Midlands, showing conclusively that peers provide the pronunciation (and grammar) model for children and not their parents. English in the city has been investigated as the variety of a ‘new town’, see Kerswill and Williams (2000 [2.7.2]).

**minimal pair** Any two words which are only distinguished by different sounds in a single position. Such word pairs are used in traditional phonology to determine the status of sounds as phonemes, for example *railing* # *sailing*, *bit* # *pit* which show that the initial sounds in these words are phonemes in English. Note that the spelling of minimal pairs is irrelevant, for example *tail* and *sale* form a minimal pair.

**minority language** A language which is spoken by only a section of the population of a country. Although modern nation states usually have one official language, generally there are one or more minority languages spoken within such a state. For example, while Germany is officially German-speaking there is a Frisian, Danish and Sorbian minority within the country speaking these languages. The issue of rights for minority languages is a matter which has been increasingly addressed in recent years, for instance by providing schooling, time allocated in the media, provision for use in official contexts, and so on. Regional languages in member countries of the European Union are accorded special recognition. *See* IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE.

**Miskito Coast** A region on the eastern coast of Nicaragua, a Spanish-speaking country of the Caribbean. A number of native American languages are also spoken there, including Miskito (about 155,000 speakers). On the northern Miskito Coast there are about 30,000 speakers of an English-based creole.

**missionary schools** Schools were set up by missionaries in English colonies, above all in the nineteenth century in Africa and in the South Pacific. For example, the London Missionary Society (founded in 1795) arrived in 1799 at the Cape Colony in South Africa and began teaching. Missionary schools may well have been responsible for the kind of English which native populations learned by exposure to the language of their teachers, for instance in SRI LANKA, but this is difficult to prove conclusively.

**mistake** An instance of ill-formed usage in a foreign language which is apparently random or at least unsystematic. *See* ERROR.



**misunderstanding across varieties** Due to different realizations of phonemic distinctions across varieties, misunderstandings can arise. The following illustration is a real example from Melbourne. Waitress to customer, holding a cake on a plate: *Do you want a* [træɪ]? (meaning *tray*). Non-Australian customer: *No. I'm sure it tastes fine.* (understanding *try*). The NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT is reportedly also a source of misunderstanding among speakers with the shift and those without, for example the latter understanding a word like *block* as *black* due to the fronting of the vowel in the first word.

**mixed accents** A reference to (i) the accent of individuals who have partially acquired another accent after their native one, for example by moving to a different region or country or (ii) an accent, spoken by an entire community, which is the result of historical contact and mixture of inputs.

**Mockney** A reference to the donning of features from the London vernacular COCKNEY by individuals who do not speak it natively. The motivation for doing this can vary, for example when people want to sound more down to earth, less posh, show street credibility, and so on. See JAFACAN, MUMMERSET.

**modal verb** A verb with a defective set of forms which is used to express obligation, necessity, possibility, hypotheticality, for example *can, may, must, might, should, would*. Modals share certain structural characteristics, for example they do not have an infinitive form and do not require *do* support in questions or negations, using inversion for the former instead: *May I have some coffee? You mustn't be late.* Modals are a dynamic area of grammar and show innovation, for example *have got to* as a modal of necessity, for example *You've got to pay your rent on time.*

**modality** A distinction in grammar used to refer to aspects of language which involve speaker attitude and knowledge.

**modals, double** In varieties which historically have had a Scots input, notably Appalachian English, sequences of two modals can be found, for example *She might could come tomorrow* (Montgomery 2001: 148 [5.1.1], Feagin 1979 [5.1.9]). Here it might be more the mechanism than the actual forms which were inherited. Such constructions are also found in African American English (see Martin and Wolfram 1998: 32–35 [5.1.10]). On the occurrence in Scottish English, see Miller (1993: 120–121 [3.1]); for Scots, see McClure (1994: 72–73 [3.1]). There are also attestations from Tyneside, see Beal (1993: 191 [2.10]). Opinions differ on the connection between a putative source and an overseas location, for example Nagle (1994 [1.6]), contra Lightfoot (1979 [1.5]) and Traugott (1972 [1]), regards double modals as an innovation in Appalachia. There is general consensus that the two modals behave as a group but there are differences among speakers concerning acceptability of alternative word orders. One or two instances of double modals are found in standard varieties of English, for example *might have to, may be able to*.

**modals *shall* and *will*** A clear distinction between *will* and *shall* is not always maintained in present-day English. Generally, *shall* is used for the first person in the future, for example *I/We shall visit France some day*. There is also an emphatic use which indicates obligation as in *He shall pay sorely for his crimes*. However, for many varieties of English, for example Scottish



and Irish English, the modal auxiliary *shall* is obsolete and has been replaced entirely by *will*. This development was furthered by the contracted form 'll which could stand for either *shall* or *will*. Today there is frequently a distinction between non-emphatic 'll and emphatic *will* as in *I'll see what I can do* (neutral); *I 'will bring the money tomorrow* (emphatic). Furthermore, *get* may express compulsion: *You've got to speak to her*.

**Modern Language Association (MLA)** This is the main professional organization for academics working in language and/or literature in the United States with over 30,000 members. It has a journal *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* and a style manual which is often used as a reference for academic publishing.

**monogenesis** The view that all pidgins and creoles are derived from a single original pidgin in the Mediterranean area in the late Middle Ages. This was called *LINGUA FRANCA* and via a sixteenth-century Portuguese pidgin, *SABIR*, led to the first pidgins on the west coast of Africa in the early days of trade. Because of RELEXIFICATION and SUBSTRATE influence different creoles are then supposed to have arisen in the following centuries.

**monoglot** An individual who speaks only one language.

**monolingual** A reference to an individual or community which uses only one language.

**monophonemic** The classification of a sequence of sounds as a single phoneme, seen from the point of view of the sound system of a language, for example /tʃ/ or /dʒ/ in English in *cheap* and *jeep* respectively.

**monophthong** A vowel which is articulated with the tongue in a constant position, for example /o:/ in French *peau* 'skin' or /ɔ:/ in English *thought*. In most varieties of English many long vowels are diphthongs, for example *bait* [beɪt] and *boat* [bəʊt], while in other languages, such as French or German, such vowels are monophthongs.

**monosyllabic** A reference to a word consisting of just one syllable.

**Montreal** A major Canadian city in the province of Quebec with a metropolitan population of about 3.8 million. Founded in 1642, by the 1830s the majority of Montreal's population was English-speaking. Due to an influx of francophones, the French-speaking population increased and by the 1980s over 60 per cent of the population was French. The two largest ethnicities in Montreal are still English (including Irish and Scottish) and French, with Italians (10 per cent) forming a large minority. There are also significant African American, Arab, Latino, South Asian and Chinese groups in the city.

**Montserrat** An eastern Caribbean island in the Lesser Antilles with an area of 102 sq km and a population of approximately 5,900 (resettled in the north of the island after the volcanic eruptions of the late 1990s). The island was sighted by Christopher Columbus in 1493 who named it after a noted monastery in Catalonia. It was first colonized in 1632 by Irish and English Catholics fleeing persecution on nearby St Kitts; more Irish settlers later came from the Virginia colony on the American mainland. Plantations to grow tobacco, later sugar and cotton, arose and from 1664 onwards slaves were imported from Africa. The French repeatedly attacked the settlers,

holding the island for four years in the 1660s and again from 1782 to 1783, when it came under definitive British control. The abolition of slavery in 1834 combined with a decline in sugar prices to bring about the collapse of the plantation economy. From 1871 to 1956 Montserrat was administered as part of the Federation of the Leeward Islands. In 1958 it became a member of the Federation of the West Indies. Following the dissolution of the federation in 1962, the inhabitants of the island voted to remain a dependency of Britain. See Wells (1980 [5.3.2]).

**mood** A division in the verbal area referring to whether the action of the verb represents a fact, a wish, a possibility, a necessity or a command.

**mora** A reference to quantity in phonology. A mora is taken to be the unit which consists of (i) a short vowel and short consonant, (ii) a long vowel, (iii) a diphthong or (iv) a long consonant. Moraic quantity is frequently maintained although phonetic substance is lost, for example [nɪçt] was the former pronunciation of *night* which, on the loss of [ç], lengthened the vowel (> [ni:t], later [nait]), thus maintaining the quantity of the syllable rhyme (one mora).

**MORNING-MOURNING merger** See HORSE-HOARSE MERGER.

**Morningside and Kelvinside** References to a type of pronunciation, supposedly characteristic of two (previously) upper-middle-class areas in Edinburgh and Glasgow respectively, which were an affected imitation of RP, probably in reaction to strongly local accents in these two cities.

**morph** Any item of language which cannot be broken down any further without a loss of meaning. A morph usually realizes a morpheme, the unit of grammar on an abstract level, for example /ʌn/ in *undoable* but also /ɪm/ in *impossible*.

**morpheme** The smallest, meaning-carrying unit in a grammar which can contrast with another. A morpheme can be an inflection, for example /ri:-/ in *rewrite* or a lexical word, *house*, *tree*, *sick*. A morpheme is an abstract unit and is realized by a morph; it is the approximate equivalent of a phoneme on the level of phonology.

**morphological alternation** A situation where two forms occur in two separate but related grammatical contexts. For instance, there is an unproductive but common morphological alternation of stem vowels between singular and plural with English nouns, for example *foot* : *feet*; *man* : *men*; *mouse* : *mice*.

**morphologization** A process whereby a change in the environment of an alternation leads to it no longer being predictable on a sound level and then becoming part of the morphology. For instance, the alternation of /s/ and /z/ in *use* (noun) and *use* (verb) was originally predictable because the voiced fricative was originally found intervocalically, cf. Old French *user*, the source of the verb. When the form was shortened to /ju:z/ the voiced [z] was no longer automatically determined by intervocalic position and hence the contrast of /ju:s/ and /ju:z/ became a morphological one (see MORPHOLOGICAL ALTERNATION).

**morphology** The level of linguistics which is concerned with the structure of words, both from the point of view of inflections and of word-formation. It is traditionally located between phonology (the level of sounds) and syntax (the level of sentences).

**morphophoneme** A term used to denote an abstract unit which involves the alternation of two phonemes in a morphological paradigm, for example {F} (the morphophoneme) which alternates between /f/ and /v/ in *wife* : *wives*.

**morphophonology** The intersection of phonology and morphology which concerns itself with the alternation of phonemes in grammatical paradigms.

**Mountain Talk** A popular term for APPALACHIAN ENGLISH.

**MOUTH lexical set** A set whose members have the vowel in the keyword MOUTH. Historically, this is the diphthong /au/ which has various sources, chiefly the diphthongization of Middle English /u:/ as a result of the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT. Previous instances of /au/ which arose from /a/ before a velarized [ɫ], as in *bold* [baul(d)] have largely been lost and are only found in some vernaculars of the British Isles, *see* OL-DIPHTHONGIZATION.

**MOUTH-fronting** A feature of many vernaculars whereby the onset of the /au/ diphthong is shifted to the front, for example [æʊ], [ɛʊ] or even [eʊ]. Sometimes the onset can form a monophthong with no off-glide, as in Cockney [mæ:θ] / [mɛ:θ].

**multilingualism** A situation in a society in which more than one language is used. This is not typically found in northern Europe, where the development of nation states in the past few centuries has meant that countries concentrated on one official language. However, outside Europe the use of several languages within a single society is quite common; indeed across the world multilingualism is more the rule than the exception.

**multivariate analysis** A statistical analysis which is based on the evaluation of more than one variable, for example the analysis of variant realizations of a linguistic variable, say (A) or (TH), coupled to the variables of class and gender to see if a correlation exists.

**Mummers** A reference to individuals who disguise themselves and visit others' homes on festive occasions, typically at Christmas time, singing and reciting poetry and also performing plays at public houses. The century-old tradition is strong in England and Ireland and overseas, for example in Newfoundland (where mumming is also called 'janneying') and in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mummers were also associated with wrenboys who celebrated the Wren Hunt on 26 December by parading in the streets. The language material used in such practices can often contain archaic features; consider this section of the traditional poem *The Wren*:

Although he was little,	
His honour was great.	[e:]
Rise up kind lady and give us a treat.	[e:], later [i:],
Up with the kettle,	<i>see</i> MEAT-MEET DISTINCTION
And down with the pan.	[æ]
Give us a penny to bury the wren.	[æ], now [ɛ], <i>see</i> R-LOWERING

The word *mummer* may represent a Germanic root meaning 'disguise', cf. German *vermummen* 'to disguise', or come from French *momer* 'to mime'.

**Mummerset** A popular reference to a typical West Country accent in a fictitious country which sounds like ‘Somerset’; the initial /m/ furthermore suggests mumming (see MUMMERS). See JAFACAN, MOCKNEY.

**Murison, David Donald (1913–1997)** Scottish lexicographer, born in Aberdeenshire and educated at Aberdeen and Cambridge. He was editor of the 10-volume work, the *SCOTTISH NATIONAL DICTIONARY* from 1946 (after the death of William Grant) to its publication in 1976.

**Murray, James A. H. (1837–1915)** Scottish lexicographer and teacher. He is remembered as the scholar who began work on what was later to become the *Oxford English Dictionary*, originally entitled *A New Dictionary of English on Historical Principles* for which he collected most material. The work was not completed until 1928 but many sections of it had been printed during Murray’s lifetime.

**Murray, Lindley (1745–1826)** Born in Pennsylvania, Murray was a lawyer by profession but in 1784 for health reasons he retired to York in north England and wrote an English grammar in 1794 along with other religious works.

**must** A modal verb implying obligation – *You must respect your parents* – or existence – *He must be French, judging by his accent* (see MUST, NEGATIVE EPISTEMIC). *Must* is being increasingly replaced, in its first use, by *have to*, for example *You have to finish your work*. Historically, there was an alternative form of *must* – *maun* – which still survives in Northern Irish English and perhaps in the West Midlands of England (Clark 2008: 174 [2.8]).

**must, negative epistemic** In standard English epistemic *must* (the sense of ‘it is the case that ...’) is negated using *can*. But in Irish, Scottish, northern English and Australian English *mustn’t* can be used: *She mustn’t be Scottish* for *She can’t be Scottish*. See Miller (1993: 119 [3.1]) on Scotland and Beal (1993: 197 [2.10]) on Tyneside.

# N

**Namibia** Former (German) South-West Africa; the country became independent in 1988 with the removal of South African control. It has an area of 824,000 sq km and a population of approximately 3 million; the capital is Windhoek. English is the official language although there are less than 20,000 first-language speakers. Several Niger-Congo languages are spoken including Owambo, a cover term for a number of languages spoken by more than a third of the population. Khoe languages, noted for their click sounds, are also found in Namibia. European languages apart from English are spoken, most notably German (in the area of Lüderitz) and Afrikaans.

**narrow** A reference to a type of phonetic transcription in which a large amount of detail is shown. For instance, [ɹeɪf] would be a narrow transcription of /reil/*rail* in RP. The opposite of BROAD.

**narrow transcription** *See* BROAD TRANSCRIPTION.

**nasal** A sound, vowel or consonant, which involves opening the nasal cavity by lowering the velum.

**nasal cavity** The hollow area inside the nose which acts as a channel for air inhaled through the nose and passed down to the lungs by lowering the velum. Nasal vowels, for example low vowels [æ, a, ɑ], are common across languages and in some, for example French and Polish, they have attained phonemic status, cf. French *chat* /ʃa/ ‘cat’ and *chant* /ʃɑ̃/ ‘song’.

**nasals, alveolarization of velar** The shift of /ŋ/ > [ɲ] as in *walking* [wɔːkɲ], popularly known as ‘dropping one’s *g*’, is a very frequent occurrence in varieties of English. It is regarded as colloquial and tends not to occur in formal contexts. This shift in articulation may not be confined to verb forms only, that is nouns like *morning*; *building* may also show alveolarization. (Wells 1982: 262–263 [1]).

**nasals, raising before** Raising before nasals is a phonetically motivated phenomenon due to the resonance they show below 800Hz and above 2000Hz, similar to the F1 and F2 formant values of high vowels. *See* PEN-PIN MERGER.

**nasals, rounding before** In an area of the north-west Midlands, stretching down the border with Wales, rounding of low vowels before nasals is found, cf. *hand* [(h)ɒ/ɔnd] (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 34–35 [2.1]).

**nasals, stops after velar** In synchronic phonological analyses [ŋ] may be regarded as deriving underlyingly from /ng/ giving [ŋg] with nasal assimilation to the stop, then deletion of [g], yielding [ŋ] as in *sing* [sɪŋ]. In some varieties the [g] may be pronounced after velar nasals, for instance in north-west Midlands English (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 34–35 [2.1]), as in *sing* [sɪŋg], offering support for the phonological analysis. The pronunciation of unstressed final [ɪŋ] as [ɪŋk] in the words *something*, *anything* is common across the north of England (Beal 2008a: 137 [2.10]).

**nasals, tensing before** A widespread feature of English in the United States whereby the TRAP vowel is raised and lengthened when it occurs immediately before a nasal, for example /mæn/ *man* > [mɛːn] /ænd/ *and* > [ɛːnd]. A higher vowel can also be found, usually with an off-glide to the following nasal, for example /kæn/ *can* > [keən] (Wells 1982: 262–263 [1]). *See* /æ/ TENSING.

**national language** Usually a particular dialect of a language which, because of the historical and political development of the dialect area in question, has attained a special status in a country and become accepted as the standard. It is frequently the language of the capital as in France or Spain. In England the concern is primarily with pronunciation and the standard – Received Pronunciation – is derived historically from the speech of London, but became separated from this and developed into a sociolect which was furthered by its use in private education.

**National Period** A division in the history of English in America which spans the time from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the annexation of Hawai‘i and the Spanish–American War, which led to the occupation of the Philippines, in 1898. *See* COLONIAL PERIOD, INTERNATIONAL PERIOD.

**Native American English** A reference to varieties of English spoken by Native Americans. Whether these constitute independent, focussed varieties is uncertain (Leap 1993 [5.1.13]). *See* LUMBEE ENGLISH.

**Native American languages** A term referring to all the languages spoken in the Americas by people who were there before the arrival of the Europeans (after about 1500). In the United States these are referred to as Native American languages, in Canada as First Nations languages. These languages can be classified into tens of different language families. In North America there were originally many hundred languages but today only a fraction survive with few having more than 10,000 speakers. The total number of speakers of North American native languages probably amounts to not much more than 500,000. The classification of these languages was initiated by the American ethnologist John Wesley Powell (1834–1902) who was followed in the early twentieth century by scholars such as Franz Boas (1858–1942)

and Edward Sapir (1884–1939). Later scholars offered different proposals which have been debated by linguists in the field. Recent classifications are those by Campbell (1998 [5.1.16]) and Mithun (1999 [5.1.16]), both of which offer significant revisions of earlier disputed typologies by Joseph Greenberg and later by his student Merrit Ruhlen (see also *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, SIL International, at [www.sil.org](http://www.sil.org)).

**native speaker** An individual who speaks a language as a first language, that is with full competence (see COMPETENCE AND PERFORMANCE), and who has reliable intuitions about well-formedness in this language and who shares these intuitions with other members of a speech community. To be a native speaker it is essential to have acquired the language before puberty (Davies 2003: 211–213 [10.4]). There are, however, looser definitions, especially in countries where English is a strong second language but without a history of SETTLER ENGLISH, for example Singapore. On the historical and ideological aspects of native speaker debates, see Hackert (2012 [10.4]). See BILINGUALISM, NON-NATIVE ENGLISH.

**native word** Any word which shows a continuous historical development in a language, that is which has not been borrowed, for example *see* and *begin* are native words in English but *perceive* and *commence* are loanwords (from medieval French). Loanwords stand in a certain relationship to native words with similar meanings. They may represent a partial or slightly shifted meaning only, for example *demand* ‘to insist on something’ in English comes from the word *demandeur* ‘to ask’ in French. A loanword may signify the meaning on a different stylistic level, often on a more formal plane as is the case with English *labour* versus *work* or *liberty* versus *freedom*.

**nativism** A conception of language acquisition (in generative grammar) which stresses the amount of abstract information which is innate and which downplays the role of experience in the development of language competence.

**nativization, structural** A reference to processes of change in the acculturation of English in a new colonial/post-colonial context. Structural nativization can be observed at all linguistic levels, including phonetics and phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax. Some of the changes are transparent and categorial (for example new lexical items); others are more opaque and manifest themselves in quantitative differences, for example different preferences for specific collocations.

**nativization phase** A phase in the genesis of new varieties during the colonial period when a focussed variety begins to appear with features specific to the country or region in question. See Schneider (2003, 2007 [10.3]).

**natural class** A group of sounds which behave similarly. An example would be the group of obstruents (stops and fricatives) as only these are affected by final devoicing in German or Russian or that of liquids – /l/ and /r/ – as only these can occur as the third element of an initial cluster in English, cf. *stray*, *scream*, *split*, *sclerosis*, and it is these which vocalize most easily in syllable codas, see L-VOCALIZATION, NON-PREVOCALIC /R/ and NON-RHOTIC.

**natural gender** An agreement between the sex of individuals and the gendered words, for example pronouns, used to refer to them. English nowadays (largely) shows natural gender



whereas languages like Italian, Spanish, German or Russian, still have grammatical gender where there is no necessary relationship between sex and the gendered words of the language.

**nautical jargon** A term used to refer to a supposed variety of English which was used by sailors for communication among speakers of different nationalities and passed on to the native populations of Africa, Asia, and so on, which they came in contact with. Common words among pidgins, such as *galley* for ‘kitchen’, *cargo* for ‘anything carried’ or *hoist* for ‘to lift’ are regarded as stemming from nautical jargon.

**Ndjuka** A group of ethnic MAROONS (20–30,000) living in east Suriname who speak a creole of the same name. It is an English-lexifier creole (*see* CREOLES, ENGLISH LEXIFIER) but shows the influence of input African languages, for example in tone and consonant clusters such as /kp/ and /gb/. The language also shows the influence of Portuguese and Dutch and is divided into three main dialects. Also called Eastern Maroon Creole.

**NEAR lexical set** The set of words which contain the historical sequence /ir/, itself from /er/. In southern English accents from the late eighteenth century onwards, and in Southern Hemisphere Englishes derived from these, the /r/ was lost, forming a diphthong /iə/.

**near-merger** A reference to two sounds which are similar but not identical. Whether near mergers exist and whether nearly merged sounds can be maintained in this state over a number of generations is theoretically contested. An example illustrating this phenomenon would be the following. In the late Middle English period the vowel in the MATE lexical set began to rise from /a:/ on its way to its later destination /e:/ (still later /ei/ in RP) and went through an intermediary stage /e:/ in the sixteenth century, a period at which the vowel in the MEAT lexical set still showed the open front vowel /ɛ:/ which it had since Middle English, that is it had yet not been raised to /e:/ on the way to /i:/ (see Table 12).

If there was a merger at the point where the rising MATE met the unshifted MEAT (second column below) then after this the two should have continued on their way together, something which is known *not* to be the case. By the seventeenth century in London it is the words of the MEAT and MEET classes which have merged, with the MATE set distinct from both (third column below), the position which persists today in standard varieties of English. A solution to this quandary is to maintain that the situation for the MATE and MEAT classes in the sixteenth century was one of near-merger. Later the two classes separated out to give the distinctly different pronunciations. Another solution would state that MATE and MEAT merged fully but that pronunciations were later adopted from other varieties in which the two were not merged.

**Table 12** Front long vowels in Early Modern English  
(taken from Labov 1994: 296).

Sets	ME outset	16th century	17th century
MEET	/e:/	[e:]	[i:]
MEAT	/ɛ:/	[ɛ:]	[i:]
MATE	/a:/	[ɛ:]	[e:]

**near-native variety** A neutral reference to a variety of English which has not arisen due to historical continuity from settler English during the colonial period of a country. Nonetheless, such forms, through exposure of speakers to English during the critical period of language acquisition in early childhood in both their school and domestic surroundings, can approach, indeed achieve, native-like quality, as in contemporary Singapore.

**NEAR-SQUARE merger** See CHAIR-CHEER MERGER.

**NECTE** (= *Newcastle Corpus of Tyneside English*) A corpus of dialect speech from Tyneside in north-east England (where the city of Newcastle is located). Some of the material goes back to the Tyneside Linguistic Survey from the 1960s and some to the project Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English from 1994. The corpus is housed at the University of Newcastle and has a dedicated website at <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/necte/>.

**negation** In a general sense, the process of denying something. There are many means of saying that something is not the case and all languages will embody some of them. The Indo-European languages have negation particles beginning in /n-/ which are normally positioned adjacent to the verb to negate it, for example *He didn't come*. In addition, there are usually means of negating an entire sentence, such as *Not all the students take their exams in June*. Furthermore, languages have means of augmenting negation, by special adverbs (*He definitely won't stay*) or by doubling the negation particles (*He don't do no work for no-one*). See Mazzon (2004 [1.6]), Anderwald (2012 [1.6]).

**negation, future** In some few varieties, notably Scottish English, the future is negated with an independent *not* rather than the clitic form of an auxiliary and *not*: *She'll not go home* for *She won't go home* (Miller 1993: 114–116 [3.1]).

**negative attraction** A process in English whereby a positive indefinite pronoun is changed into a negative one when the verb is negated. In the resulting construction the verb is in the positive, for example *Anyone won't go* > *No-one will go*; *Anyone wasn't interested in the game* > *No-one was interested in the game*. The lack of 'negative attraction' is attested for Irish, Scottish and is sometimes found in Northern English, for example *Anyone can't build on farming land no more*; *All the hotels don't take British guests* (Miller 1993: 116 [3.1]). On Tyneside, see Beal (1993: 198–199 [2.10]).

**negative bias** A phenomenon whereby certain expressions tend to occur only in the negative, for example in English *I haven't seen her for yonks*; *I don't give a damn*. In a positive form, such sentences are very odd: *?I give a damn*.

**negative concord** A feature both of older English and many dialects of present-day English, including African American English. It refers to the use of two (or more) negators to intensify a negation, for example *He don't know nothing*. The term 'negative concord' refers to the fact that in varieties which have this feature, all elements in a clause which can show negation do so (Henry 1997: 103–105 [3.3.1]), that is *He don't know anything* is not well formed because *anything* can be rendered in the negative as *nothing*, hence the sentence *He don't know nothing*. See Martin and Wolfram (1998: 17–27 [5.1.10]) and Mufwene (2001: 305–306 [5.1.10]) for a treatment of this complex in African American English.

**negative definers** Features whose presence can help to exclude a stretch of speech as representing some variety or dialect. For instance, H-DROPPING does not occur in Anglo-American English or in Irish English, nor does TH-FRONTING. Hence these features negatively define these varieties.

**negative markers** A word which is positive in form but is used to express negation, for example French *personne* (lit. 'person') 'no-one' or *devil* in western rural Irish English, for example *Devil the work is done* 'The work is not done'.

**Neo-Anglicist hypothesis** See AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH, THEORIES OF ORIGIN.

**Neogrammarian hypothesis** A view of language change which assumes that it proceeds gradually on a phonetic level, affecting all words with the sounds simultaneously. This view was propounded in the nineteenth century by German linguists starting from Leipzig. It contrasts with the view that change can affect only a part of the lexicon. See LEXICAL DIFFUSION.

**neologism** A new word in the vocabulary of a language. Inventions are usually trade names, for example *Kodak*, *Nivea*, *Sony* and as such are proper names. There are a few non-trade names, for example *dongle* 'software protection device' or *googol* 'number with a hundred zeros'. It is more common for words to be created from lexical material already present in a language, for example *paraglider*, *cyberspace*. Neologisms are distinguished from borrowings as the latter already exist in the source language. See LOANWORDS, NEOCLASSICAL.

**Neologizers** Those scholars who favoured the use of new words in English of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, often creations on the basis of Latin or Greek material. Some of these new creations provided adjectives which have continued in English since, for example *equestrian*, *pedestrian*, *marine*, *aquatic*.

**Nepal** A country to the north-east of India, consisting geographically of the foothills and higher mountains of the Himalayas including Mount Everest. It is bound on three sides by India with a northern Chinese border. Nepal has an area of 147,000 sq km and a population of about 30 million, over 1 million of whom live in the capital Kathmandu. The country was never a British colony, but throughout the RAJ in India, Nepal had close contact with English-administered India. Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language spoken by about 70 per cent of the population, is official alongside other regionally recognized languages.

**network, social** A series of connections which individuals have with those they interact with socially. Networks, as the notion was developed for linguistics by James and Lesley Milroy, can be simplex or multiplex and can show weak or strong ties. Vernacular speakers, typically members of non-prestigious social groups with less access to higher education, are liable to have strong ties in multiplex networks. Middle-class speakers on the other hand tend to partake in weak-tie networks. See INTERLOPER, TIES, WEAK AND STRONG.

**Network English** See GENERAL AMERICAN (ENGLISH).

**network strength** A measure of the ties which individuals show in their social networks. Strong ties inhibit change as they are also an index of how closely speakers adhere to the vernacular norms of their community.

**neutralization** The removal of a contrast in sounds or grammar. Phonological neutralization can result from phonetic merger as with /ei/ in modern English which arose from the common development of Middle English /a:/ and /ai/, cf. *tale* and *tail*.

**never with punctual time reference** For many varieties of English, for example Tyneside English (Beal (1993: 198 [2.10])) and Irish English, it is possible to employ *never* as a marker of the punctual past tense, indeed as a generalized preverbal past tense negator: *She never came last night* = *She didn't come last night*. In standard varieties *never* has a much wider temporal range, for example *He never went to Hong Kong when he lived in China*.

**New Dialect Formation** A historical process whereby a new focussed variety arises from a series of dialect inputs, for example in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century. The analysis of this process has been primarily associated with the work of the British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill (see Trudgill 2004, 2008 [1.2.6]) who has postulated the following stages: (1) rudimentary levelling, (2a) extreme variability, (2b) further levelling, (3) focussing. Thus new dialect formation has as its beginning a mixture of dialects and as its end point a single new dialect. In the context of New Zealand, new dialect formation took place after the initial immigration of speakers from different regions of the British Isles. This was a process of dialect mixture in which, over just a few generations, a focussed variety arose which was then uniform and distinct from any other existing varieties of English. While the progression from input to output is uncontroversial, the question of just what input features survived into the later focussed variety has been a matter of scholarly debate. Trudgill's stance is deterministic: the quantitative representation of features across speakers of input dialects (given in percentages) determines whether they become part of the output (with an appeal to linguistic markedness to explain the survival of minority variants such as schwa in the TRUSTED LEXICAL SET). For example, if a feature was used by more than 50 per cent across the English, Scottish and Irish communities of early anglophone New Zealand, then it survived. For this to have worked, early anglophone New Zealand society would have had to be uniform with contact among all speakers. Trudgill did not consider the status of immigrants (the English generally emigrated as families, the Irish and Scots as individuals) or local concentrations (Scots in Otago and Southland, Irish in Westland, Nelson, Hawke's Bay and Auckland). Importantly, he disputed the role of social factors for the young in following generations, for example the fact that New Zealand was a British colony and hence south-east English features would have been favoured by later generations; he also vigorously rejected any embryonic identity function for the combination of features which emerged in the later focussed variety (see criticism in Hickey 2003 [1.2.6]). In addition, there is no evidence that in a scenario where sociolinguistic factors apparently played no role the quantitative occurrence of a feature across the early communities would determine its survival. It might very well be that in such a situation, if it ever obtained, the survival of features might be random. Other critical assessments of Trudgill's views have been presented, see the discussions in *Language and Society* (2008, vol. 37.2, pp. 241–280) and Baxter *et al.* (2009 [1.2.6]).

Many scholars postulate that new dialect formation took place at different locations and have examined the rise of overseas varieties from this perspective: Dollinger (2008 [1.2.6])

is an example discussing early Canadian English; Bekker (2012 [6.3.1]) has considered the situation in the north of later South Africa in the late nineteenth century; Wolfram, Carter and Moriello (2004 [1.2.6]) examine the emergence of Hispanic English in the Atlantic South of the United States. Schneider (2003 [10.3]) in his examination of post-colonial English deals with the issue as well. The New Dialect Formation model has also been applied to analysing non-standard varieties within Britain, see Britain and Trudgill (2005 [1.2.6]).

**New England** A historical region of the north-eastern United States which comprises the following six states: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. New England is bound by Canada to the north and north-west, by the Atlantic to the east and by the state of New York to the south and south-east. This is a region of old anglophone settlement, cf. the Plymouth Colony of 1620 founded in the area of present-day Boston. Traditionally, the area is divided into Western and Eastern New England (see map in Nagy & Roberts 2008: 53 [5.1.3]) with the latter at least partly non-rhotic and the former entirely rhotic. Whether non-rhoticity derived from earlier settlers or whether it was a later prestige import is a matter of debate among scholars. Traditionally, the NORTH and FORCE vowels were separate, meaning that *morning* and *mourning* would not be homophones. Low vowels show much variation in New England: they pattern with the LOT-THOUGHT merger but a separate PALM vowel is common and there are many other patterns in subareas of New England; see the extensive discussion in Johnson (2010 [5.1.3]).

**New England short o** A short lax vowel which corresponds to the tense /o:/ vowel of words like *coat*, *road*, *home* and which was traditionally characteristic of English in NEW ENGLAND. See Avis (1961 [5.1.3]), Pederson (2001: 269 [5.1.2]).

**New English Dictionary on Historical Principles** See OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

**New Englishes** A cover term, in use since the early 1980s, which refers to varieties of English spoken in countries which have a colonial past but no significant numbers of settlers who would have transmitted native-speaker English to later generations. In such countries, typically located in Africa and Asia, the standard of English can be high, due to the promotion of the language in primary education. Indeed in cases like Singapore, near-native competence appears to have been reached by large sections of the population and for a significant proportion English is now the language of the home. New Englishes show a strong influence of the background languages spoken in a region, for example of Hokkien Chinese, Malay or Tamil in Singapore.

English is frequently acquired in an unguided fashion in regions with ‘New Englishes’ (LANGUAGE SHIFT). Because of the often restricted nature of the input, certain features may be at a premium: topicalization through fronting to highlight new information in an exchange (*It’s wedding of my brother soon*); left dislocation of the given information can also be found (*My brother, there is wedding soon*). Also characteristic is the backgrounding of morphology and complex syntax as is the preference for word order over inflection and for PARATAXIS over HYPOTAXIS. Use of intonation rather than syntax in interrogative sentences (*You like new car?*) is also common, as is an adherence to natural order in syntax (*He drink much wine when he come home* rather than *After he come home he drink much wine*). See Schneider (2003 [10.3]), Hundt & Gut (eds, 2012 [10.3]), Sharma (2012 [10.3]).

**New France / La Nouvelle France** A large region of North America which was under French control in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At its greatest extension in the mid eighteenth century it stretched latitudinally from the Atlantic coast to the central-west of present-day Canada and longitudinally through the later US Midwest down to the Mississippi delta. In 1803 this latter area (from the Canadian border down to Louisiana) was acquired by the United States as the LOUISIANA PURCHASE. The French territories in Canada were later reduced to the province of QUEBEC (established with the Quebec Act of 1774), covering territory similar in its southern extent to the present-day province.

**new towns** A term referring to towns and cities which were established in recent times, which grew rapidly and whose populations arose due to in-migration from different regions. Some new towns go back to the nineteenth century, for example MIDDLESBROUGH in north-east England which arose due to industrialization. Others arose in the twentieth century, for example MILTON KEYNES. Although new towns have diverse regional inputs the following generations adopt the pronunciation typical of the locality.

**New World varieties** A cover term for English spoken in the Caribbean, United States and Canada. The English concern with the New World and the beginning of English settlement there did not start in earnest until after 1600. Sir Humphrey Gilbert reinforced the English claim to eastern Canada by travelling to Newfoundland in 1583; English settlements arose along the eastern coast of the later United States, for example at Jamestown in Virginia in 1607. Finally the English established a bridgehead in the Caribbean with the settlement of St Kitts and Barbados in the south-east in the 1620s. The seventeenth century brought a considerable expansion of the English presence in the New World, often to the detriment of claims by other European powers, for example England took Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655 (formally ceded in 1670) and obtained New York (then New Amsterdam) from the Dutch in 1664. There was competition with the French for hegemony in Canada throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which led in 1774 to the establishment of the large French-speaking province Quebec, which became part of the Canadian Federation in 1867.

Among the motives for the original settlement of North America was the desire for political and religious freedom by the Puritans in New England in the early seventeenth century, and the wish to gain land and hence economic improvement. In some cases both these motives applied, for example in the eighteenth century with the Scots and Ulster Scots Presbyterians who settled in Pennsylvania and the lower Appalachian area, somewhat inland from the south-east coast of America. Later emigration, that is after the eighteenth century, was motivated purely by economic necessity as with the large exodus of southern Irish to the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.

**New York English** A reference to varieties of English spoken in New York City at the mouth of the Hudson River in the north-eastern United States. The city has an area of 1,213 sq km and a population of approximately 8.3 million with over twice that number living in the larger metropolitan area. First settled in 1624, the city was originally Dutch, called New Amsterdam, and became English in 1664. It now comprises the following five boroughs: The Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens and Staten Island, which were joined to a single city in 1898. In the nineteenth century the city saw waves of immigrants mainly from Ireland, Germany, Poland and Italy. Other groups followed in the twentieth century such as the Puerto



Ricans, who came in large numbers during the 1950s. The city also has the largest concentration of Jews outside Israel, for many of whom Yiddish is the heritage language.

Vernacular New York English shows phonological features such as low or non-rhoticity, stops for inter-dental fricatives, the raising and tensing of the /ɔ/ vowel in *talk*, *walk*, *cross*, *soft*, and so on. There is a split of historically short /a/-vowels: (i) a raised and tensed vowel with some ingliding in *pan*, *pass*, *pad*, *bath*, *ham*, and so on (before voiced stops, /ð/, voiceless fricatives and front nasals) and (ii) a low [æ] vowel in words like *chat*, *bat*, *pat*, *match*, *pal*, and so on (before voiceless stops, /t/ and /l/) (Gordon 2008: 71 [5.1.4]). The PRICE lexical set has an onset in the low back region, for example *fight* [fɔɪt]. The MARY-MERRY-MARRY MERGER is generally not found (or at least a two-way contrast is present). A stereotypical feature is the merger of the NURSE and CHOICE vowels so that words like *verse* and *voice* can have the same vowel, that is [vɜɪs] though this is stigmatized and recessive. See Gordon (2008 [5.1.4]) and Murray & Simon (eds, 2006 [5.1.5.1]).

The investigation of English in New York, published by William LABOV in 1966, is the key publication of modern sociolinguistics which established principles of data collection and analysis which quickly became central to the field. For the second edition, see Labov (2006 [1966] [5.1.4]).

**New Zealand** An island nation in the South-West Pacific, east of Australia. It consists mainly of two islands, the North and South Island, with an area of 268,000 sq km and a population of about 4.4 million. The capital is Wellington, while the largest city is Auckland with a metropolitan population of nearly 1.5 million. New Zealand was settled by Polynesians in the centuries prior to the colonial period. European discovery was by the Dutchman Abel Tasman in 1642. A century later, in 1769, James Cook took possession of the country for Britain. In 1840, with the Treaty of Waitangi between the English and the local Maori, New Zealand formally became a British colony with the seat of administration in Auckland, later in Wellington. The Westminster Statutes made provision, in 1928 and 1931, for the practical independence of New Zealand from the United Kingdom, although officially the English monarch is still the head of state as in Australia. English is the language of the vast majority while MAORI is spoken by perhaps 100,000 people in present-day New Zealand (though levels of competence vary greatly). MAORI ENGLISH is a variety showing the influence of this language. Some 78 per cent of New Zealanders are of European and about 15 per cent of Maori descent. There are additional ethnic groups resulting from in-migration from various South Pacific island nations such as Niue and the Cook Islands (*see* PASIFIKA ENGLISH) as well as sizeable immigration from Asia.

New Zealand English is a southern hemisphere variety of English (*see* SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE ENGLISH) and arose during the nineteenth century, partially through input via Australia which may account for the many similarities between it and Australian English. Short front vowels are raised considerably – even more than traditionally in Australian English – giving *man* [mɛn], *men* [mɪn], *dish* [dɪʃ]. The BATH vowel is central to front, that is it does not show the retraction typical of RP. The NURSE vowel is rounded and there is noticeable GOOSE FRONTING (Bauer & Warren 2008: 41–52 [8.2]). Although it showed H-DROPPING in its earlier stages it appears to have lost this due to prescriptivism in schools (Gordon 2012 [8.2]). Twentieth-century developments include the loss of the *which*–*witch* distinction and the complete spread of non-rhoticity (Hay & Clendon 2012 [8.2]). Of recent origin is the CHAIR-CHEER MERGER.

New Zealand English has been well studied because it is a recent variety (beginning in the mid nineteenth century) with available audio recordings of speakers born in the second half of



the nineteenth century; these have been analysed phonetically as part of the ONZE project. See Gordon *et al.* (2004 [8.2]). A general overview is provided in Hay, MacLagan & Gordon (2008 [8.2]).

**Newcastle-upon-Tyne** The major city in the north-east of England, located on the River Tyne with about 900,000 inhabitants (Tyneside). The city expanded considerably in the nineteenth century with coal and shipbuilding as important industries drawing in migrant labour from various parts of England and from Ireland. House (1954: 47) in Beal (1993: 189 [2.10]) states: 'In 1851, Newcastle, the most cosmopolitan of the north-eastern towns, had one person in every ten born in Ireland.' The urban variety of English in Newcastle is called GEORDIE. Salient grammatical features of Geordie are the following: punctual *never*: *He never rang us up yesterday* (Beal 1993: 198 [2.10]); lack of negative attraction: *Everyone didn't want to hear them. Another house wasn't to be seen for miles around* (Beal 1993: 198–199 [2.10]); use of *will* in first person questions and in the future: *Will I put the kettle on?* (Beal 1993: 194–195 [2.10]); *diven't* is a form for *don't*; double modals are reportedly found in Tyneside but are very rare. According to Upton, Sanderson & Widdowson (1987: 217 [2.1]) *ye* occurs in Tyneside for *you*. PL. Geordie is noticeable in the context of urban dialects in England in retaining historical /h/ and generally by having alveolar [l] in syllable codas. It is non-rhotic as the former uvular /ʁ/ has been removed (treated as a speech defect) but a trace of it is found in syllable-final off-glides: *cure* /kʲua/. Glottalization of voiceless stops is found – /p, t, k/ > /ʔ/ – mainly but not exclusively in word-final position. There is a schwa off-glide from /o:/ giving [oə] *goat* and unstressed /ɪ/ is generally /i:/ word-finally (see HAPPY-TENSING). The city is referred to locally as *the town* [tu:n] which shows the shifted /u:/ of the MOUTH lexical set; see GREAT VOWEL SHIFT. See Beal, Burbano Elizondo and Llamas (2012 [2.10]).

**Newfoundland** A large island in eastern Canada at the estuary of the St Lawrence River with an area of 94,000 sq km and a population of under 500,000. The capital St John's is on the Avalon Peninsula in the south-east. The island had been visited by the Viking Leif Erikson around 1000 and was rediscovered by John CABOT in 1497. However, it was not until 1583, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert travelled there, that England renewed its claim to the island. In the following two centuries the island was used in the summer by fishermen, from the south-west of England and the south-east of Ireland, who availed themselves of the copious cod stocks on the Grand Banks shelf off the coast of Newfoundland (cf. the Irish for Newfoundland *Talamh an Éisc* 'Land of Fish'). The scenario of migrant labour in the summer months meant there was continuous reinforcement of dialect input by so-called 'transients'. Later permanent settlement evolved and temporary migration to Newfoundland for fishing came to an end. Newfoundland became a largely self-governing colony in 1855 and in 1949 joined Canada as its tenth province.

Initially, the English and Irish communities in Newfoundland were relatively separate and maintained features of their source regions. For instance, initial fricative voicing, as in *say*, *see* with [z-] or *first*, *far* with [v-], has been typical of traditional speakers of English descent as has *a*-prefixing, for example *a-been*, *a-come*. Pronoun exchange, the use of non-oblique forms in oblique contexts and vice versa, for example *Give 'em to I*, is also a feature of south-west English in Newfoundland.

Features which are characteristic of the Irish community include dental stops for interdental fricatives, for example *think* [tɪŋk], *father* [fɑːd̪ə]; the weakening of word-final, post-vocalic or intervocalic /t/, for example *night* [nait̪], *butter* [bʌt̪ə]; the low degree of

distinctiveness between /ai/ and /ɒi/ (cf. *bile* vs *boil* [bail] vs [bail]); the open vowel in the THOUGHT lexical set, for example *small* [sma:l]; an alveolar [l] in syllable codas and an epenthetic vowel in the syllable-final cluster /lm/, for example *film* [filəm], *helm* [hɛləm].

Some traits are common to both the English and Irish communities, for example a special form for second person plural pronouns (*ye* for ‘you.PL’ in the Irish community and *yous* more often in the English community); the presence of non-prevocalic /r/, sibilant fortition, as in *isn’t* [ɪdnt]; the use of non-standard verbal -s, for example *The girls likes going into town*; habitual aspect expressed by inflected *do* / inflected, invariant *be* (though not with a lexical verb), especially in interrogative and negated sentences, for example *Do she be sick a lot?* or *They don’t be at it much* (Clarke 2010: 76–78 [5.2.8]). The perfective construction with *after* and present participle, as in *He’s after eating his dinner* ‘He has just eaten his dinner’, is an Irish feature which is found in both communities.

Newfoundland English would appear to be losing the more marked of its Irish and English West Country features and adopting more supraregional features of Canadian English. See Clarke (2004 [5.2.8], 2010 [5.2.8]).

**Newfoundland and Labrador** Since 2001 the official title of the easternmost province of Canada consisting of the island of Newfoundland and the adjacent mainland of Labrador. The official Canadian statistics returned 511,000 as the population of the province.

**newspaper corpora** Text collections consisting largely or solely of issues of newspapers or news magazines. See CORPUS OF CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN ENGLISH and ZURICH ENGLISH NEWSPAPER CORPUS.

**newspapers** A publication, normally in print, which appears at regular intervals, typically daily, weekly or on Sundays, and which contains information on current political and social affairs, particular happenings, reviews of cultural life, music, sports, and so on, often from a critical perspective or from a particular political angle. Most newspapers also include advertising material as a means of financing their production. Broadsheet (600 mm × 380 mm) was an earlier format, but tabloid (380 mm × 300 mm) is now more common. The first regular daily newspaper to appear in England, from 1702, was *The Daily Courant* which was produced in Fleet Street in London. Very quickly several more followed and by the 1720s over 20 newspapers were being printed in England. In 1788 the first issue of *The Times* and in 1791 that of *The Observer* appeared. In 1821 *The Manchester Guardian* (since 1959 *The Guardian*) first appeared; it is the most significant national newspaper produced outside London. Other major newspapers date from the nineteenth century, for example *The Daily Telegraph* (1855–).

In the United States *The Hartford Courant* (Connecticut) is generally regarded as the oldest regular newspaper, first appearing in 1764. Although *The New Hampshire Gazette* began to appear in 1756 it was not a regular daily. A number of early newspapers were published in the South such as *The Augusta Chronicle* (Georgia, 1785–) and *The Post and Courier* (going back to the *Charleston Courier*, 1803–). The nineteenth century saw the appearance of other major newspapers such as *The New York Times* (1851–), *The San Francisco Chronicle* (going back to *The Daily Dramatic Chronicle*, 1865), *The Washington Post* (1877–) and *The Los Angeles Times* (going back to the *Los Angeles Daily Times*, 1881).

In overseas colonies newspapers were also printed from the eighteenth century onwards. The first newspaper from the Caribbean was *The Barbados Gazette* (1731) produced by the Englishman Samuel Keimer who had moved to Barbados via Pennsylvania. In South Asia the

first was *The Bengal Gazette or the original Calcutta General Advertiser* (1780) by James Augustus Hicky, an eccentric Irishman and ex-employee of the East India Company.

Today the major newspapers of Britain and the United States, as well as those in other anglo-phone countries, have online versions. See JOURNALESE, HEADLINESE. There is a comprehensive archive of British and Irish newspapers accessible at <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>.

**NG-realization** A reference to the nasal in the ending *-ing*, mostly in the present participles of verbs, for example *walking*, *doing*, *seeing*, but also nouns such as *morning*. There are two realizations: (i) a velar [ŋ] or (ii) an alveolar [n], (referred to popularly as ‘dropping your g’s’), the latter being typical of many vernaculars throughout the anglophone world. On variation in Appalachia, see Hazen (2008 [5.1.8]).

**Nguni languages** A subgroup of Bantu languages spoken in Southern Africa. The largest of these are Zulu and Xhosa, spoken by the two major native populations in that country. Ndebele (spoken in Zimbabwe) and Swati (spoken widely in Swaziland) are other Nguni languages. This subgroup does not include Sotho, Tswana and Venda which are co-official Bantu languages in South Africa.

**Nicaragua** See MISKITO COAST.

**NICE properties** A reference to the four situations in which *do* is used as a support verb in modern English: (i) in negation, *She doesn’t like syntax*; (ii) with interrogatives, *Does she like syntax?*; (ii) with ‘coding’ as a replacement for a verb already mentioned, that is *She likes syntax and her sister does too*; and (iv) for emphasis *She ‘does like syntax*.

**Nigeria** A major African country situated on the inner west coast between Benin to the west, Niger to the north and Cameroon in the south/south-east. It has an area of 924,000 sq km and a population of approximately 170 million. The capital is Abuja in the centre of the country and Lagos on the southern coast is the largest city. European involvement with Nigeria dates back to fifteenth-century contact with the Portuguese; British contacts stem from the seventeenth century. Nigeria quickly became an important British colony. It figured prominently in the slave trade with the New World and continued as a colony after the abolition of this trade in 1807. Nigeria formally became part of the British Empire in 1901. With the dismantling of the empire after World War II, Nigeria gained its independence in 1960. A legacy of British involvement is that English is the de facto official language of Nigeria with Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba – the languages of large ethnic groups – nationally recognized languages. There is a major linguistic, cultural and religious division in Nigeria between the south and the north where the largely Muslim Hausa (approximately 25 million) are in the majority. Their language – Hausa – is a Chadic language of the Afro-Asiatic group.

During the colonial period pidgin English arose around the trading posts of the British along the West African coast, leading to WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH which is still spoken by several million people (see NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH). Varieties of Nigerian English are non-rhotic, show stops for inter-dental fricatives, have reduced vowel systems (with fewer diphthongs and frequently no vowel length distinctions) as well as showing SYLLABLE-TIMING. In Nigeria, English English has been the exonormative model of pronunciation.

**Nigerian Pidgin English** A pidgin spoken by at least half the population of present-day Nigeria as a second language and possibly by a few million as first language (in which case it would strictly speaking be a creole). This pidgin arose through contact between the English and speakers of indigenous languages, particularly in the Niger Delta in the nineteenth century, a region where the concentration of speakers has always been greatest. Different varieties of the pidgin are spoken across Nigeria depending on the background languages of the regions. Nigerian Pidgin English forms a continuum with vernacular forms of Nigerian English and is related to the more general WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH. It may show more basilectal features of pronunciation, for example final liquid deletion as in *botu* for *bottle*, *pipu* for *people* and epenthetic vowels to ensure CV-structures as in *futubol* for *football*. Lexical pitch distinctions may be carried over from background languages into varieties of the pidgin. See Elugbe (2008 [6.1.5]), Faraclas (1996, 2008 [6.1.5]).

**Niue** A Polynesian island nation in the south Pacific in free association with New Zealand. It has an area of 269 sq km and a population of approximately 1,400. The first European to visit the island was James Cook in 1774. The islands were annexed by New Zealand in 1901 at the same time as the Cook Islands. In 1974 Niue became self-governing. In recent decades many Niueans have emigrated to New Zealand, where they have citizenship, and speak PASIFIKA ENGLISH.

**nominal** Relating to a noun, like a noun.

**nominalization** A process whereby a noun arises from another word class. This can be the result of a diachronic development, for example *wisdom* from *wise* + *-dom* (not productive anymore) or be part of a (productive) synchronic process as in English *coolness* from *cool* + *ness*.

**nominalive** A case which indicates the subject of a sentence and the obligatory noun phrase of a verb. As it is usually uninflected it is taken to be basic and is used as the citation form of a noun in a dictionary or grammar.

**non-aspirated** A reference to a voiceless stop /p, t, k/ articulated without any recognizable aspiration. This type of articulation is found in English only after /s/ but is general in many other languages (Dutch, Russian, French, Greek).

**nonce formation** A word coined on the spur of the moment, usually with a short life.

**non-countable nouns** Refers to nouns which cannot occur in the plural. Languages differ in this respect, for example *information* is non-countable in English but countable in many other languages such as French, Italian and German, so that a common mistake is to use it as such in English.

**non-distinctive** A reference to a form which is not involved in distinguishing meaning or a linguistic category.

**non-finite form** A verb form which does not show any endings for person or number, for example the infinitive and the participles of English, for instance *to do*, *doing*, *done*.

**non-local** A label used to refer to varieties which are more or less distant from the vernacular of a locality. The advantage of the term is that it encompasses varieties not necessarily typical of the well educated or conventionally middle class. *See* STANDARD.

**non-native English** Any variety of English spoken by those individuals who did not acquire the language under natural conditions in early childhood (*see* NATIVE SPEAKER). Historically, this contrasts with settler English in overseas colonies which was spoken, for example in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and so on, by individuals who had acquired the language natively, usually in England, and transferred this to their children at the new location, this then continuing there through the generations. Settler English contrasts with non-native English in many parts of Africa and Asia (NEW ENGLISHES, *see* Hundt and Gut, eds 2012 [10.3]) which was and is acquired by speakers of another language coming into contact with English, usually through the education system in their country. This may lead to a distinct variety of English arising, a second-language variety (Mukherjee and Hundt, eds 2011 [10.4]), which is then used by later generations, some members of which may become native speakers if they are only exposed to this variety in their early childhood through their parents adopting the variety as the home language, a phenomenon to be observed in Singapore and to an increasing extent in South Asia. Even if this does not take place, a second-language variety can stabilize and become focussed, often incorporating structural innovations in grammar and lexis (Mukherjee 2009 [7.1.1]) which are shared by the speech community which uses the variety. Non-native English, as spoken by immigrant populations in anglophone countries, has also been studied to see how non-native speakers pick up vernacular features around them, cf. Drummond's studies (2011, 2012 [10.4]) of Polish speakers' use of colloquial English in Manchester. *See* BILINGUALISM, NATIVE SPEAKER.

**non-native pronunciation** A pronunciation of English which shows the phonetic influence of a background language (the native language of the speaker), for example the use of a uvular /ʁ/ by French, German or Danish speakers, of unaspirated stops by Spaniards or Italians, of a single sibilant for [s] and [ʃ] by Dutch, Greeks, Finns or Spaniards, the occurrence of final devoicing with Germans and speakers of Slavic languages.

**non-participation in change** In a period of linguistic change in a community, the non-participation in the change can be deliberate and express the sociolinguistic identity of a group within a community. For instance, the DUBLIN VOWEL SHIFT of the 1990s was not adopted by many males around Ireland who maintained their local pronunciations although most females outside Dublin did adopt the new vowels and other features such as a retroflex [ɻ] and a velarized [ɫ].

**non-prevocalic /r/** A term used to refer to /r/ when it does not occur immediately before a vowel, as in *car* and *card*. For many varieties of English – American, Canadian, Scottish and Irish English – /r/ is pronounced in this position cf. *word*, *card*, *far*. However, for all varieties, prevocalic /r/, as in *red* and *very*, is pronounced, though the realization varies.

**non-rhotic** [nɒnrəʊtɪk] A reference to a variety of a language in which a syllable-final (non-prevocalic) /r/ is not pronounced, for instance, RP, White South African English, Australian and New Zealand or most forms of African American English. In addition, nearly all second-language varieties of English in Africa and Asia are non-rhotic.

**non-verbal communication** A collective term for all aspects of communication which do not involve speech, for example facial expression, stance, gestures. Sometimes included in the term *body language*.

**non-vernacular** A term used to characterize the speech of those inhabitants of an urban or rural area who do not use the local dialect, that is the vernacular. Non-vernacular speakers do not necessarily adhere to a Standard English model of pronunciation (British or American, for instance) and normally maintain some features which make them recognizable to outsiders as from a region or country, if not from a specific location.

**Norfolk Island** A small island in the Pacific to the north-west of New Zealand some 35 sq km with a population of 2,300. It is a self-governing territory of Australia which received settlers from Pitcairn in 1856, these forming about half the population, the other half consisting largely of Australians and New Zealanders. The official languages are English and NORFUK, a creole related to PITKERN. See NORFUK and PITKERN.

**Norfolk** A creole spoken on Norfolk Island and derived from PITKERN, taken there by settlers from Pitcairn Island.

**NORM** An acronym for 'non-mobile, older, rural male' referring to the informants preferred in traditional dialectology. The aims of the latter were generally to determine the oldest surviving form of a language by examining the most conservative dialect speakers. In modern sociolinguistics this type of orientation is rejected as the aim is to uncover language usage in contemporary society and hence stress is generally placed on urban dialects as spoken by people of all ages and both genders.

**normative** A reference to externally applied rules for language use. Normative behaviour derives from often subjective notions of supposed correctness which pay little attention to language structure and language change.

**Norn** A variety of Norse which was formerly spoken on the Orkney and Shetland islands, and to some degree in Caithness on the nearby mainland, as a consequence of the original Scandinavian invasions in the late Old English period. It died out in the eighteenth century.

**NORTH lexical set** A set which contains the reflex of Early Modern English /ɔ:/ before /r/. In rhotic varieties this is commonly /o:r/, for example in many forms of American English, due to the raising of /ɔ/ to /o/ in this position. In non-rhotic varieties the previous /ɔ:r/ resulted in /ɔə/ which was later smoothed to /ɔ:/, as in RP. For some limited number of vernacular varieties, chiefly in Scotland and Ireland, there is still a distinction between /ɔ:r/ in NORTH and a higher vowel /o:r/ in the FORCE lexical set.

**Northern Cities Shift** A change in the pronunciation of English in the major cities of the INLAND NORTH of the United States. The term stems from William LABOV who has examined the shift in detail pointing out the raised character of short vowels in words like *bad*, *back*, the centralization (with possible lowering) of the *dress* and *kit* vowels and the rounded realization of the vowel in *buck*. In this shift vowels have moved in a quasi-circular fashion (see Table 13).



**Table 13** The Northern Cities Shift.

---

[i] <i>kit</i> ⇔	
[ɛ] <i>dress</i> ⇔	
	<i>stuck</i> [ʌ] ⇔ [ɔ]
↑	<i>stalk</i> [ɔ] ↓
[eæ]	[ɑ]
<i>stack</i> [æ]	[a] ⇔ <i>stock</i> [ɑ]

---

Labov (1991: 12 [5.1.2]) sees the raising of the TRAP, BATH and DANCE vowels as a precondition for the shift and according to Boberg (2001: 11 [5.1.3]) it may have begun in north-western New England (Nagy and Roberts 2008: 56 [5.1.3]). See Labov, Ash & Boberg (2006 [5.1.2]); Gordon (2012 [5.1]). See CALIFORNIA VOWEL SHIFT, CANADIAN SHIFT, SOUTHERN SHIFT.

**Northern English** The north of England is somewhat more conservative in its phonology compared to the south and has not gone through many of the changes found in the latter area. The two most obvious of these are (1) the lowering of Early Modern English /ʊ/ to /ʌ/, for example [kʊt] for [kat] *cut* (see FOOT-STRUT SPLIT); (2) the lengthening of low vowels before voiceless fricatives, for example [pas] for [pɑ:s] *pass* (Beal 2008a: 130 [2.10]). Some varieties have not undergone the Great Vowel Shift, retaining /u:/ for a subset of the MOUTH lexical set, see NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. The FACE and GOAT vowels are [e:] and [o:] respectively in the lower north, but in the far north the diphthongs [iə] and [uə] are found. The vowels of the FORCE and NORTH lexical sets can have open realizations, for example *course* [kɔ:s]. Other features apply to sub-varieties of the north, for example the fronting of mid-back vowels in Hull as in *home* [hø:m]. Wales (2006 [2.10]) is a general survey of northern English. See also Hickey (ed., 2014 [2.10]).

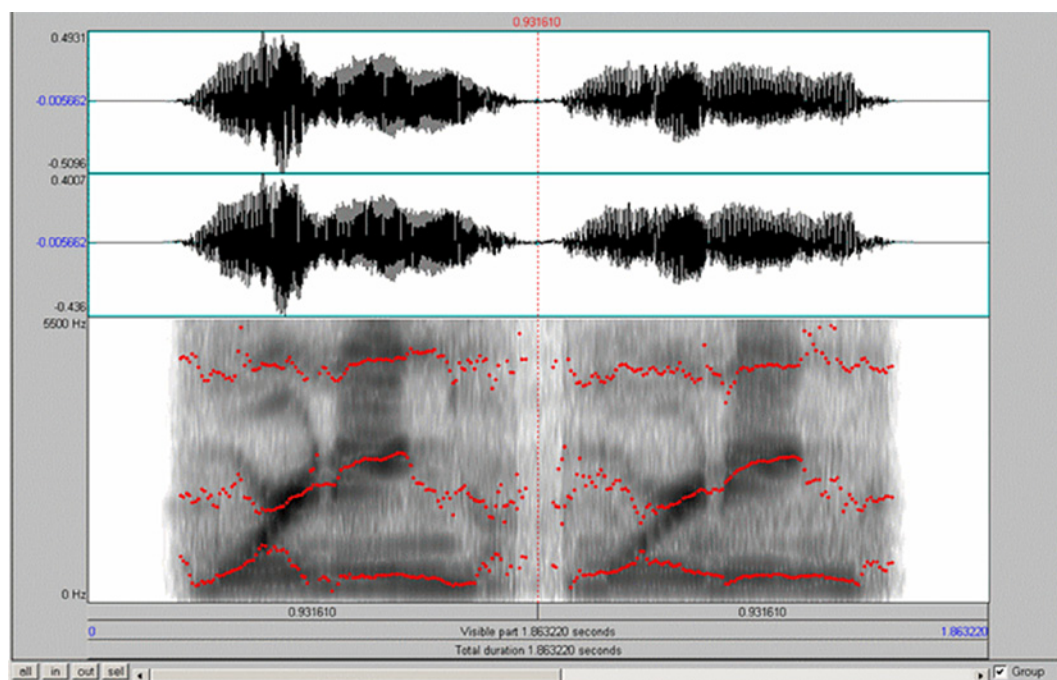
**Northern hemisphere** The northern hemisphere of the English-speaking world, essentially North America and the Caribbean, which was settled from around 1600 onwards. This contrasts with the southern hemisphere, mainly South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, which was settled from approximately 1800 onwards.

**Northern Ireland** See IRELAND, NORTHERN.

**Northern Subject Rule** See VERBAL CONCORD, NON-STANDARD.

**NORTH-FORCE distinction** A systemic difference between a high mid back vowel [o:], in the FORCE lexical set, and a low mid back vowel [ɔ:], in the NORTH lexical set (always in pre-rhotic position). This distinction is now rare and is only found in some rhotic varieties such as Irish and Scottish vernaculars. It used to occur in regions of the United States, for example in the South (Thomas 2008: 102 [5.1.9]), but is not part of standard American English pronunciation. There are several minimal pairs illustrating this distinction, for example *for* [stressed] : *four*; *horse* : *hoarse*; *morning* : *mourning*; *born* : *borne*; *warn* : *worn*. The merger of the two lexical sets is quite recent in some countries, for example in Ireland where in non-vernacular Dublin English word pairs like HORSE and HOARSE have become homophonous showing only the higher vowel [o:]. Only speakers born before 1970 are likely to differentiate word pairs like *morning* and *mourning*, with [ɔ:] versus [o:]. Those varieties which do not have this distinction have a single long mid back vowel /o:/ before /r/ matching the general single mid front vowel /e:/, that is they have a more symmetrical system of mid vowels





**Figure 3** Spectrogram of young female Dublin speaker saying *morning* and *mourning*.

(in pre-rhotic positions). In the spectrogram shown in Figure 3 the shape of the formants (indicated by the dotted lines) are similar enough in both words to maintain that the speaker used the same vowel in each instance.

**Northumbria** The area in England which is north of the River Humber and south of the border with Scotland. This region can be identified dialectally for the Old English period. During Middle English it is generally termed *Northern* and this broad dialect area continues to this day. See NORTHERN ENGLISH.

**Northumbrian burr** See UVULAR /R/.

**Norwich (local pronunciation: ['nɒrɪdʒ])** A city in Norfolk in the East Anglia region of England with a metropolitan population of about 375,000. The city dates back to the Middle Ages and was with Bristol the next largest city in England after London. It has a long tradition of trade, especially in wool, with mainland Europe, for example through contact with the Low Countries and Northern Germany as well as with Scandinavia. This led to migration into the city, for example by French Huguenots and Belgian Walloons fleeing Spanish persecution in the sixteenth century. The contact with outside groups is thought to have had an influence on language, for example in the lack of verbal *-s* in the present tense. There was also considerable in-migration from surrounding rural areas (Norfolk and Suffolk), especially during the nineteenth century when the city's population rose from approximately 35,000 to more than 120,000.

Phonological features of Norwich English include H-DROPPING, alveolar NG-REALIZATION, T-GLOTTALIZATION, all general vernacular features, found in many urban varieties. A specific feature is the continuation of Middle English /ɔ:/ and /ou/ as separate vowels. The former vowel is /u:/ as in *moan, nose, rose, sole* while the latter vowel has yielded /ʌʊ/ as in *mown, knows, rows, soul* (Trudgill 1986: 34–35 [1.2.3]). See Trudgill (1974 [2.6]) for a sociolinguistically oriented overview.

**notation** A system of transcription in phonetics, for example the IPA or the American system (see Appendix C for details). Notations of various kinds are used for other levels of language as well, for example for syntactic categories. It is important in linguistic analysis to ensure that apparent differences in interpretation do not simply result from differences in notation, that is from the manner of representing language structures, and not from the nature of these.

**noun** One of the major parts of speech which refers to objects in the non-linguistic world or to notions which are regarded as forming entities parallel to real-world objects, for example by showing the property of countability, as in *The two ideas Fiona came up with recently*.

**noun phrase** Any part of a sentence which has a noun as its head. It can range from a single noun to a complex phrase. In behaviour and distribution it is similar to a noun.

**nouns, measure** A cover term used for nouns which indicate a quantity of something, for example numerals. In many vernaculars such nouns often do not demand the plural of those they qualify, cf. *five pound, three girl*.

**nouns to verbs** A common type of conversion in modern English whereby a noun is used as a verb with no alteration to its form. Examples of this would be *to resource them better; this door is alarmed; to pause the machine; to ringfence the funding; to mailshot the electorate*. See CHANGE, PRESENT-DAY LEXICAL.

**Nova Scotia** A province of eastern Canada comprising a peninsula and an island north of this, Cape Breton Island. It has an area of 56,000 sq km and a population of 920,000; the capital is Halifax. Nova Scotia has been a part of the Canadian federation since its founding in 1867. The first European settlement was by the French in 1610, with Britain following some-time later. The area, part of former Acadia, was contested vigorously by the two European powers. The issue was finally settled with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which transferred the French territories to the British. During the eighteenth century many Scots emigrated to the region resulting in the name (from the Latin for ‘New Scotland’) and Scottish Gaelic on Cape Breton survived into the twentieth century with some speakers left still. A number of black Loyalists fled to Nova Scotia during the American Revolutionary War (1773–1785). In 1796 about 600 MAROONS from Jamaica were shipped to Nova Scotia, as were more blacks from the United States between 1813 and 1815. These groups formed a diaspora of African American English (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1991 [5.1.10.4]) and some former slaves from this community then moved to SIERRA LEONE, providing input to KRIO.

**now** A temporal adverb referring to the present. In Irish English it has an additional function as a discourse highlighter in either initial or final position as in *Now I'll give you a ring when I get there. We'll have to settle the matter now*. (not necessarily with present-time reference).

**nucleus** The central part of a syllable without which it would not exist. The nucleus is usually a vowel but sonorants can also fulfil this function, for instance the /l/ in *kettle* or the /ŋ/ in *button* which form the nucleus of the second syllable.

**number** A grammatical category which refers to quantity, usually along a binary axis, singular vs plural, although some languages have other number distinctions involving a dual or a paucal category (referring to a few items).

**Nunavut** The northernmost part of Canada and since 1999 a federal territory. The capital is Iqaluit (formerly Frobisher Bay) on Baffin Island. Inuktitut, English and French are official languages of the territory.

**NURSE lexical set** A set whose members contain the reflex of a centralized, schwa-type vowel from Early Modern English which was originally rhotacized, that is [ɤ], but is not so in present-day non-rhotic varieties; for example in RP and Southern Hemisphere English the vowel is usually [ɜ:]. Traditional dialects in Britain and Ireland can show different realizations, for example a fronted [e/ɛ:(r)] or a retracted [ʊ:(r)] and may contrast this with the vowel in the TERM lexical set, for example in local Dublin English. A merger can also occur with the SQUARE lexical set through retraction of the vowel to a central position as in Liverpool. In Tyneside and Northumberland a merger with the NORTH vowel as [ɔ:] is found with older, male speakers. Basilectal African Englishes may have a low, central vowel, that is [nas], as realization. See Simo Bobda (2000 [6]).

**NURSE-TERM distinction** A continuation of the Middle English distinction between /ʊ/ and /ɛ/ before tautosyllabic /r/. This is now only found in traditional dialects of the British Isles, especially in Scotland and Ireland. Elsewhere the sounds in these words have merged, usually to a central schwa-type vowel.

# O

**/o:/, reduction of unstressed final** This vowel has been shortened and centralized to /ə/, for example *fellow* ['felə], *yellow* ['jelə], in many traditional varieties both in the British Isles and overseas. This has led in colloquial Dublin English to a lexical contrast between ['felə] 'young man, boyfriend' and ['felou] 'male person'.

**Oakland School Board** See EBONICS.

**object** A grammatical term referring to an element in a sentence which is affected by the action of the verb. An object may be indirect (linked by position before a direct object or by a preposition to the verb), *She gave him the book*, *She spoke to him*, or direct (no preposition involved), *She greeted him*.

**object language** The language which is the object of an analysis; see METALANGUAGE.

**obligatory** A type of rule which must be realized in a certain way, for instance the insertion of an unstressed vowel in plural endings with words which end in a sibilant in English: *horses*, *bushes*, *judges*, all of which have [ɪz] as an ending.

**oblique case** A term referring to the object of a verb or a preposition, for example *She met him*. *She looked down on him*. *She gave him the book*. The term is appropriate in English as it no longer has a formal distinction between an accusative and a dative case.

**oblique forms in subject function** Many vernaculars allow such forms to occur in subject positions, for example *Us farmers have a hard life*. *Him and me are off tomorrow*. See PRONOUN EXCHANGE.

**obliques** A type of bracketing formed by right-slanting strokes and used for enclosing phonemes and morphs, for example *spill* /spɪl/. Also called slashes. See SQUARE BRACKET.

**observer's paradox** A phenomenon to be seen in sociolinguistic investigations and first described explicitly by William LABOV. It maintains that the object of an investigation changes under observation, for example speakers change their linguistic behaviour when they know they are being observed. A number of techniques have been developed to minimize the effect of the observer's paradox, above all, the SURVEY, RAPID AND ANONYMOUS.

**obsolescent** A reference to any usage or word/feature which is no longer current in a given language/variety; for example SERVE-lowering, the pronunciation of words like *search*, *certain*, *serve* with /ər/, is an obsolescent (but well attested) feature of Irish English.

**obstruent** A cover term for plosives (stops) and fricatives. In English the sounds /t, d, k, g/ and /f, v, s, z/ are all obstruents. The other major class of consonants are sonorants, in English: /m, n, ŋ, l, r/. Obstruents often behave as a group; for example, in languages like Russian or German obstruents occur as voiceless sounds at the ends of words but sonorants are always voiced.

**occlusion** The duration of closure for a stop during its articulation.

**Oceania** An overall term for the island regions of the Pacific. It covers the following three subareas: (1) *Polynesia* (from Greek 'many islands') which refers to all the islands in the south-west and west of the Pacific stretching from the north of Australia up to Hawai'i. (2) *Melanesia* (from Greek 'black islands', that is those inhabited by dark people) which refers to a smaller group in the south-west (including Fiji). (3) *Micronesia* (from Greek 'small islands') refers to the area north of Papua New Guinea (just above the equator) which consists of many small islands, hence the name.

**Ocracoke Brogue** ['œkrə,kəʊk] A name given to a relic dialect area on a group of islands, the Outer Banks, off the coast of North Carolina in the United States. It has been intensively investigated by the American dialectologist Walt Wolfram and his colleague Natalie Schilling-Estes. A prominent feature of the dialect is the retraction and raising of the /ai/ indicated in the spelling *hoi-toiders* [høi tɔɪdərz] which also gives the name to the speakers of the dialect. See Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006 [5.1]).

**Ogasawara Islands** A group of over 30 Pacific islands about 1,000 km south of Tokyo with a population of under 3,000. Only two islands – Chichijima and Hahajima – are inhabited. First discovered by the Spanish in 1543 they were claimed by the British in 1827. The main island Chichijima was first settled by an American in 1830. During the 1830s various Pacific settlers along with some from China and the Philippines arrived as well as Europeans with an English, German, Danish, Portuguese and French background. This led to the rise of a mixture of second language forms of English which in following generations led to Bonin Creole English (Long 1999 [8.3.7]). In 1862 the islands were claimed by Japan and later Japanese nationality was conferred on those of European or American ancestry, known as 'Westerners'. Diglossia arose with Japanese as the official language and English as a vernacular. By the end of 1878, 194 Japanese had migrated there, and by 1900 the population of Chichijima had reached over 2,300, reducing the non-Japanese settlers to a minority. World War II saw intense fighting on the islands which were captured by the United States. During the US administration

the diglossic situation was reversed with English the ‘high’ variety. In 1968 the islands were returned to Japan. At present the younger generation preferentially speaks Japanese, and English among the Westerners has receded. In English the islands are known as the Bonin Islands (< *bunin* ultimately from a Japanese word meaning ‘uninhabited’).

**Old Bailey Texts** A set of documents consisting mostly of court transcripts from the proceedings of the Old Bailey (Central Criminal Court) in the city of London from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries. These consist mostly of verbatim records of witness depositions and are generally in vernacular English of the time (the variety varies according to the individuals recorded and the faithfulness of the court scribe in question). The documents have been digitized and are available as a corpus of texts from the University of Sheffield. There is also an online resource accessible at <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>.

**Old English (450–1066)** The initial period in the history of English which lasted from the mid fifth to the mid eleventh century (Smith 2009 [1.5]). It begins with the traditional date for the arrival of the Germanic tribes in Britain, 449, and ends with the Norman invasion of 1066. Written documents begin in the late sixth century and continue through to the late eleventh century. Old English is also a term for the original settlers in Ireland of Anglo-Norman stock from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

**OL-diphthongization** A reference to a non-standard pronunciation before a velarized [ɫ] in a series of words written with <old>, for example *old*, *bold*, *bold*, *sold*. In such words the final stop was lost and the original mid vowel /o:/ was diphthongized to [au]. This pronunciation was already recorded in England by John Ray in 1674 and was retained for a long time in Ireland and is still present in vernacular pronunciations of *old* [aul] and *bold* [baul].

**on to express relevance** To indicate that an action was relevant to someone many varieties use *on* plus a personal pronoun, for example *They broke the glass on me* (sometimes referred to as the ‘ethical dative’ or ‘dative of disadvantage’). This usage is very common in Irish English (Harris 1993: 172 f. [3.3], Hickey 2007b, Chapter 4 [3.3]) and an exact equivalent exists in Irish but the present-day occurrence is probably due to convergence with English dialect input which also provided a model for this.

**Onions, C(harles) T(albut) (1873–1965)** English lexicographer chiefly known for his last work *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (1966).

**online corpus** Any corpus of primary linguistic data which can be accessed online through a dedicated user interface. The data for such a corpus can consist of material from the Internet itself, for example BLOGS, personal pages, online media such as newspapers, journals, periodicals, etc., or it can consist of material from elsewhere which is then placed online for user interrogation via an appropriate interface. An example of the former would be the CORPUS OF GLOBAL WEB-BASED ENGLISH and of the latter, the BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS. On corpora and the Internet, see Hundt, Biewer & Nesselhauf (eds 2007 [1.1.5]).

**onomastics** The linguistic study of names, both personal and place names. This field is concerned with etymology because names do not usually change their form and thus tend to offer evidence of older stages of the language. Place names are useful in tracing settlement

patterns in a region as successive waves of settlers tend to keep the original names, hence the many Celtic names in Britain, such as Kent and Avon (from the Celtic word for ‘river’), and names which were later Latinized by the Romans such as York (from *Eboracum*) and London (from *Londinium*). See Ayto & Crofton (2005 [1.5.1]), Hanks *et al.* (2002 [1.5.1]).

**onomatopoeia** The putative imitation of a natural phenomenon (for instance bird song as in *cuckoo*) by phonetic means. Onomatopoeia is not a major factor in the development of sound systems. See PHONAESTHETICS.

**onset** The beginning of a syllable. In English it may contain a maximum of three elements which must occur in the sequence fricative + stop + sonorant/glide, for example *splash* [spl-], *stretch* [str-], *squeeze* [skw-]. In general terms the onset consists of all segments which occur in front of the syllable’s nucleus. A syllable onset is ‘stronger’ than a coda; for example, all segments possible in a coda can usually occur in an onset (with very few exceptions such as [ŋ]) and over time onsets are much more resistant to phonetic attrition than are codas.

**ONZE** An acronym for *Origins of New Zealand English*, a research project at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. It consists of digitized recordings of older speakers made by the Mobile Unit of the New Zealand National Broadcasting Service between 1946 and 1948. Some of the recordings are of second generation English-speaking settlers in New Zealand. See Gordon *et al.* (2004 [8.2]).

**opaque** A term referring to any form or process which cannot be readily understood by lay speakers. One could say that the word *gospel* is opaque for English speakers as they do not automatically realize that it comes from *good* + *spell*, itself a calque on the original Greek *euangelion* ‘good news’.

**open** (1) A classification feature for vowels. Open vowels are those which are articulated with a relatively low tongue position, for example /æ, a, ɑ/. It also refers to syllables which do not have a coda, that is closing consonant(s), for example *two*, *play*. (2) A term in grammar which denotes a class which does not have a predetermined number of members, for example the set of nouns in a language.

**optional** Any process which is not obligatory, for example allophonic processes which do not necessarily have to be carried out, cf. the shortening of high vowels before nasals as in RP *room* /ru:m/ > /rʊm/ or *been* /bi:n/ > /bɪn/.

**oral** Articulated in the mouth. The term implies that the nasal cavity is not involved; for example in French there are distinct oral and nasal vowels as in *bonne* /bɔ̃n/ ‘good.FEM’ and *bon* /bɔ̃n/ ‘good.MASC’.

**oral history** See HISTORY, ORAL.

**ordinal number** An attributive form of a number, for example *the first linguist*.

**organs of speech** Parts of the human anatomy which are used in speech production, for example vocal folds, uvula, velum, palate, alveolar ridge, lips and the tongue. From an evolutionary



point of view these functions are secondary adaptations and specializations of organs which have some other primary function.

**Orkney and Shetland English** Varieties of English spoken in the two groups of islands off the north-eastern shore of Scotland, known together as the Northern Isles, with an area of 1,468 sq km; the main towns are Kirkwall and Lerwick respectively. These islands were under the strong influence of Old Norse from the ninth century onwards after the islands were conquered by the Vikings. A form of Old Norse – Norn – survived until the eighteenth century. English exists as a continuum between Scottish Standard English and the traditional dialect of the islands. The SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE applies more to English in Shetland than in Orkney. Front vowels, especially in the KIT set, have lowered realizations. Shetland English shows a complementary distribution of consonants and vowels maintaining equal syllable rhyme length as in *back* [bak:] and *baulk* [ba:k] (a relic of Norn and still a feature of Norwegian and Swedish). Retroflexion of /s/ after /r/ is found in words like *force*, *purse*, *nurse* all with [–ɪʂ]. The NORTH and FORCE lexical sets are distinguished. MOUTH words have a range from /u/ to /əu/. The STRUT vowel is generally rounded, for example *done* [dɔ̃n]. The stops /t, d/ tend to be realized as dentals. WH is generally [ʍ] and in west Shetland it can be [kw], leading to hypercorrections like [min] for *queen*. Among the salient grammatical features are (1) the use of non-standard verbal -s in the plural; (2) *be* rather than *have* as an auxiliary; (3) the presence of a second person singular pronoun: *du/dee* (Shetland) and *thu/thoo* (Orkney); (4) lack of modal/auxiliary+negator contraction, for example *A'm no ready yet*; (5) archaic plural forms, for example *een* 'eyes' *shöön* 'shoes', *kye* 'cows'. See Melchers (2008a, 2008b [3.1.5]), Robertson and Graham (1991 [3.1.5]) and other items in section 3.1.5 of the Reference Guide.

**Orkney Islands** A group of islands off the north-east coast of Scotland which are normally paired with the Shetland Islands. See ORKNEY AND SHETLAND ENGLISH.

**orthoepey** A term referring to the determination of correct pronunciation, in particular with reference to those writers in sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England who were concerned with this issue. These authors wrote treatises on aspects of English, mainly pronunciation, which offer insights into the language at the time.

**orthography** The system of writing used in a language. Many languages have their own system but English, along with most European languages, employs a modified form of the Latin alphabet. In contrast to many continental European languages, English does not use DIACRITICS on letters.

**orthography and pronunciation** By the sixteenth century the orthography and pronunciation of English had diverged considerably and authors began to publish works dealing with this issue. John Hart (d.1574) wrote *An Orthographie of English* (1569), an early suggestion for a spelling reform of English to bring the orthography into line with contemporary pronunciation. Other works followed by different authors, for example Alexander Gills's *Logonomia Anglica* (1619) and Charles Butler's *The English Grammar* (1633).

**Orton, Harold (1898–1975)** English dialectologist. Born in Durham the son of a village schoolmaster, Orton studied at Oxford and developed a strong interest in dialects.

He also studied under Joseph WRIGHT and Henry WYLD and later worked at Newcastle and Sheffield before he was appointed professor at Leeds after World War II. With a team of collaborators he started work on the *SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS*, leading to several published volumes of data.

**Otago and Southland** The southernmost regions of the South Island of New Zealand where a large number of emigrants from Scotland settled in the nineteenth century retaining their speech characteristics into the twentieth century. The Scottish presence is reflected in many place names such as Dunedin (from the Gaelic word for Edinburgh), the main city of Otago.

**Ottawa Valley** An area that extends along the Ottawa River (north-west of Montreal) through the city of Ottawa and north-west towards Algonquin Park. Vernacular varieties of English spoken in rural areas previously showed an influence of Irish English but this receded during the later twentieth century. See Pringle and Padolsky (1981 [5.2.3]).

**over-, underdifferentiation** A phenomenon in second language use where speakers either indulge in a feature or neglect such a feature. This occurs in many second language varieties of English, for example Afrikaans English where *learn* can occur in the sense of *teach* (underdifferentiation) given that Afrikaans has only one verb for both meanings, *leer*.

**over-indulgence** An inordinate use of a feature/structure/word in a second language due to its frequency in the first language or due to an incomplete mastery of all options of the target language, for example the over-use of *make* by Germans in English as in *to make a photo*.

**overseas territories, British** Small locations throughout the world which are still ruled by Britain as a legacy of the British Empire. There are 14 in all: (1) Gibraltar, (2) Akrotiri and Dhekelia in Cyprus (Europe); (3) Bermuda (North Atlantic); (4) Turks and Caicos, (5) Cayman Islands, (6) British Virgin Islands, (7) Anguilla, (8) Montserrat (Caribbean); (9) St Helena/Ascension/Tristan da Cunha, (10) Falkland Islands, (11) South Georgia, (12) British Antarctic Territory (South Atlantic); (13) Pitcairn (South Pacific) and (14) British Indian Ocean Territory (Chagos Islands).

**overseas varieties** A cover term for any variety of English outside the British Isles; the term does not refer to Scottish or Irish English. These varieties arose primarily due to emigration as in North America and the Southern Hemisphere (South Africa, Australia and New Zealand). However, in parts of Africa and Asia, where there was a colonial administration but not significant numbers of settlers, second-language English was, and still is, spoken by the native population, for example in Nigeria, Kenya, India, Singapore and Malaysia. The extent to which English is used in these countries now and the level of competence speakers have depends on different factors, chiefly the status of English in the particular post-colonial country and its use in education and public life. Table 14 lists factors which have determined the shape of different kinds of overseas varieties.

The term ‘overseas’ is geographical and should not be interpreted as implying any anglocentricity. See ANGLOCENTRIC.

**Table 14** Factors determining overseas varieties.

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- (1) Dialect input and the survival of features from a mainland source or sources.
  - (2) Independent developments within the overseas communities, including realignments of features in the dialect input.
  - (3) Contact phenomena where English speakers coexisted with those of other languages.
  - (4) An indirect influence through the educational system in those countries in which English arose without significant numbers of native-speaker settlers.
  - (5) Creolization in those situations where there was little or no linguistic continuity and where virtually the only input was an English-lexifier pidgin, based on English, from a preceding generation.
- 

**overseers' letters** A collective reference to letters written by plantation overseers in the southern United States, mostly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These have been examined linguistically for the insights they give into varieties of English used in this region during that period.

**Oxford English Dictionary** A proposal was made by Richard Chevonix TRENCH in 1857 to the Philological Society to design a new dictionary which would serve as a definitive work on the vocabulary of English with complete historical coverage. The Scotsman James MURRAY became the main editor. The first volume, letter 'A', appeared in 1888 and all 12 volumes were published in 1928 as *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* in 1928. A thirteenth supplement volume came out in 1933 (after which it was called the *Oxford English Dictionary* published by Oxford University Press). The 20-volume second edition appeared in 1989 (this is also available electronically). Work on a much expanded third edition is underway at present (2013). See Trench *et al.* (1860 [1.3.6]), Mugglestone (ed., 2005 [1.3.6]), Brewer (2003 [1.3.6]).

**Ozark English** The Ozarks are a highland area in the south-central United States between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. The region was relatively isolated during the past few centuries and relic varieties of settler English were retained there as in other similarly remote areas such as Appalachia or the Outer Banks off the coast of North Carolina. See Christian, Wolfram & Dube (1988 [5.1.8.]), Mock (1991 [5.1.8]).

# P

**Pacific area** Languages spoken on the islands of the Pacific belong to one of two phyla (large sets of genetically related languages), the second of which is confined to the island of Papua New Guinea. (1) *The Austronesian language family*. Mainland South-East Asia (Vietnam and Cambodia show remnants from before the dissemination over the Pacific). Major west Pacific islands: *Taiwan (Formosan)*, *Philippines*, *Indonesia*, *Malaysia*, *Madagascar* (an outlier with the language *Malagasy*). The island groups of *Micronesia*, *Melanesia*, *Polynesia* (islands east of Melanesia, south-east, south-central Pacific), central Pacific: *Hawai'i*; *Easter Island* (outlier off the coast of Chile). (2) *Papua New Guinea linguistic area*, consisting of a very large number of languages whose probable genetic relatedness has not been fully established; see PAPUAN LANGUAGES and Table 15.

**Pacific creoles** A collective reference to the creoles spoken in the Pacific area. This would include Melanesian creoles such as Tok Pisin, Pijin and Bislama and also Hawaiian plantation creoles and those found in Australia, that is Kriol and Torres Strait Creole. These creoles developed in the nineteenth century independently of the already existent creoles of the Atlantic area. Also termed 'Pacific group'. See ATLANTIC CREOLES.

**Pakeha** A MAORI term used in New Zealand for people of European origin, which of course includes the English. Pakeha English is sometimes used to refer to the English spoken by non-Maori of European stock.

**Pakistan** An Asian state north-west of India and east of Iran, just under 800,000 sq km with a population of about 178 million. It was formerly a part of British colonial India and with independence of the latter in 1947 it was formed into a country of its own for the largely Muslim population. From 1947 to 1971 it was a single country with the distant East Pakistan on the other side of India, this then becoming BANGLADESH. English in India and Pakistan is used as a semi-official language alongside the two versions of the same language, known as

**Table 15** Anglophone locations in the Pacific.*Micronesia*

Guam (unincorporated territory of the United States)  
 Kiribati (Gilbert Islands)  
 Palau  
 The Federated States of Micronesia  
 The Marshall Islands

*Melanesia*

Fiji  
 Norfolk Island (dependency of Australia)  
 Papua New Guinea  
 (including the islands of the Bismarck archipelago)  
 Solomon Islands  
 Vanuatu (New Hebrides)

*Polynesia*

New Zealand  
 Niue (in free association with New Zealand)  
 Tokelau (dependent territory of New Zealand)  
 Hawai‘i  
 Cook Islands (in free association with New Zealand)  
 Pitcairn (dependency of the United Kingdom)  
 American Samoa  
 Samoa  
 Tonga  
 Tuvalu (Ellice Islands)

*South-East of Japan*

Bonin / Ogasawara Islands (Japan)

Hindi in India and Urdu in Pakistan. The latter form has been influenced, especially in its vocabulary, by Arabic because of Islam, the official religion of Pakistan. The language with the largest number of speakers (over 60 million) is Western Panjabi. English in Pakistan is rhotic and vowels show less diphthongization than in southern English English; there may also be retroflexion of alveolar stops, a prominent feature of Indian English, *see* INDIA. See Baumgardner (ed., 1996 [7.1]).

**palatal** A place of articulation at the hard palate in the roof of the mouth.

**palatalization** A common historical process whereby sounds produced at the velum are progressively shifted forward towards the hard palate. There is often a change in manner of articulation as well from stop to affricate and possibly to fricative: /k/ > /ç/ > /tʃ/ (> /ʃ/) as can be seen in the development of Latin *camera* /kamera/ to Modern French *chambre* /ʃɑ̃br/.

**palatalization, post-velar pre-ASH** A feature of English in the north of Ireland which was widespread in the north of England as well. It involves the palatalization of /k/ and /g/ to /kj/ and /gi/ respectively. This palatalization is/was only to be found before low vowels. It is attested in eighteenth-century mainland English (and possibly transferred to the Caribbean

from there, see Holm 1994: 370 [5.3] and Youssef and James 2008: 330 [5.3.2.4] on its occurrence in Trinidad). Examples are *cat* [kjæt], *Cavan* [kjævən], *gap* [gjæp]. It was transported to the United States where it is found occasionally in southern varieties (Montgomery 2001: 131 [5.1.1]) but has disappeared in most locations (the coastal plain and Piedmont, see Thomas 2008: 108 [5.1.9]).

**palato-alveolar** A place of articulation which lies behind the alveolar ridge and in front of the palate proper. The English affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, in *church* and *judge* respectively, are palato-alveolar sounds.

**Palau** An island nation of Micronesia consisting of about 200 of the Caroline Islands in the western Pacific which cover an area of about 470 sq km and have a population of approximately 21,000. Palau has been independent of the United States since 1994. Palauan (an Austronesian language) and English are official languages.

**Pale** A term for the area of Dublin, its immediate hinterland and a stretch of the east coast down to the south-east corner which was originally settled by English and where the English language has been maintained since the late Middle Ages. The varieties of English in this area still show features which stem from late medieval Irish English whereas those further west in the country show greater evidence of influence from Irish, the native language before the switch-over to English. *See* IRISH ENGLISH.

**paleotype** One type of phonetic transcription (another was *phonotype*) devised by Alexander ELLIS for transcribing features of English dialects and used in his five-volume work, *On Early English Pronunciation*, see Ellis (1868–1889 [1.5]). Some of the symbols are easily discernible, going on English orthography, for example *sh* for [ʃ] or *wh* for [w]; others availed of combinations not present in English, for example *kh* for [x]. However, many symbols are less intuitive, for example *q* for [ŋ] or contradict present-day transcriptional practice, for example *ʌ* for [ɔ]. The system was not adopted by other scholars but a few of Ellis' symbols, for example [ʃ] and [ʒ], did make their way into the INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET developed in the late 1880s under the leadership of Paul PASSY.

**PALM lexical set** A set of words which in non-vernacular southern English English has a long retracted low back vowel, that is [pɑ:m]. There is considerable variation across varieties with this vowel; a central [a:] or front [æ:] is also found. In forms of English in the United States this set can have the same vowel as that resulting from the LOT-THOUGHT MERGER.

**Panamanian Creole** A creole spoken in the Central American country of Panama, mostly on its Caribbean coast; also known as Colón Creole. It is similar to other English-lexifier creoles of the western Caribbean Rim such as Miskito Creole (Nicaragua), Limón Creole (Costa Rica) and Belizean Creole (Belize).

**Papua New Guinea** A country in the South-West Pacific which consists of the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, the western half belonging to Indonesia, formerly Irian Jaya, and consisting of the provinces of Papua and West Papua (the Bird's Head region). Various outlying islands also belong to Papua New Guinea, chiefly New Britain, New Ireland and

Bougainville. The country has an area of 463,000 sq km and a population of about 6.2 million, 300,000 of whom live in the capital Port Moresby in the south-east. English, TOK PISIN and Hiri Motu are official languages. From 1884 to 1919 the northern section of New Guinea was under German control, the southern part being British New Guinea. In 1975 it gained its independence from Australia, which had governed the country for most of the twentieth century. Papua New Guinea never had an English settler population, but the English creole TOK PISIN served as a lingua franca in what is the region of the world with the greatest density of languages.

**Papuan languages** A large number of language families, defined negatively as non-Austro-nesian and non-Australian, which are spoken on New Guinea and some surrounding islands. The main group is the Trans-New Guinea phylum running through the central highlands of New Guinea. Only a minority of the languages, most of which are spoken by only a few thousand people, have been studied and classified.

**paradigm** ['pærədam] The set of forms belonging to a particular word class or member of a word class. A paradigm can be thought of as a vertical list of forms which can occupy a slot in a SYNTAGM.

**paradigmatic change** A kind of change which results from members of a paradigm (set of grammatical forms) exerting an influence on a particular member such that it comes to conform to the majority in the set, for example the shift of /r/ to /s/ (later /z/) in verbs like *choose* in English: the past participle in Old English was *coren* but was regularized to *chosen* with a sibilant to conform to the majority of forms for this verb.

**paradigmatic regularity** The extent to which a language shows symmetry in its declinational and conjugational patterns (for nouns and verbs respectively).

**paralanguage** All aspects of communication which do not involve language itself. Voice quality can be included in paralanguage as it is not a feature of the language system.

**parallel independent development** Any set of two or more developments in separated languages or dialects which are assumed to have arisen independently of each other, for instance the development of *y'all* (< *you all*) as a personal pronoun in Appalachian English and South African Indian English.

**paraphrase** An alternative rendering of a phrase or sentence often to achieve greater clarity, for example a sentence like *The markets swung back* could be paraphrased as *The markets regained their previous level of economic activity*.

**parataxis** Two or more clauses which are linked by using conjunctions, that is the clauses have equal status, for example [*Fiona came home*] and [*checked her emails*]. See HYPOTAXIS and SUBORDINATING AND.

**parole** A term introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure to refer to language as spoken by a speech community as opposed to the language system (LANGUE) which the members of the community share.



**part of speech** Any set of words which form a grammatical group, that is which can represent the same categories or indicate similar relations, for example nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions.

**participle** A non-finite form of the verb which in most Indo-European languages is used to express participation in an action, for example the present participle as in *Fergal is writing a new book*, or to show that an action has been completed, for example with the past participle as in *Fergal has written a new book*. Participles can also appear in attributive form as adjectives, for example *A crying baby*, *A written message*.

**participle, dangling** A sentence or a phrase containing a participle which is not syntactically related to the rest of the sentence. *Thinking about his old job, Fergal forgot the appointment*.

**particle** Any word which has a certain grammatical function and which is usually unalterable in form and often has no independent semantic value, for example the infinitive marker *to* as in *She wants to go*.

**Partridge, Eric (1894–1979)** A lexicographer of English, born in New Zealand and educated in Australia and England. Partridge did not follow up the beginnings of his academic career but took to publishing. His linguistic reputation rests on *Slang Today and Yesterday, a History and a Study* (1933), *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937, eighth edition 2002), *Usage and Abusage: A Guide to Good English* (1942) and *Shakespeare's Bawdy. A Study and a Glossary* (1947).

**Pasifika English** New Zealand has some 250,000 people whose families immigrated from various South Pacific islands, making up about 7 per cent of the present-day New Zealand population. The majority of these people come from four main islands or groups: Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga and Niue. The first generation immigrants are second language speakers of English, their first language being the Polynesian language of their country of origin. New Zealand-born members of the community are often dominant in English rather than their heritage language. This leads to a complex situation of language contact which seems to be resulting in an emergent Pasifika ethnolect of New Zealand English among the younger members of these communities.

**passive** A mood, present in Indo-European languages, which serves to avoid indicating the subject of a verb and which highlights the object, for example *The book was stolen (by a young student)*. Passive sentences are taken to be semantically equivalent to active ones.

**passive, get** A means of expressing the passive by using *get* instead of *be* as an auxiliary. This is a common type of passive in current varieties of English: *His car got stolen last week. I got told off*.

**Passy, Paul Édouard (1859–1940)** One of the earliest professional phoneticians, Passy was a founding father of the *International Phonetic Association* in the late 1880s and helped develop the system of transcription which that organization propagated. He also founded a journal, *Le Maître Phonétique*, which was the forerunner of the *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*.

**past forms of verbs** In English there is not always a separate form for the simple past and the past participle, for example *Fiona bought new shoes, Fiona has bought new shoes*. This situation applies to many verbs for which three forms were used in the emerging standard of English in

the eighteenth century. This led to the stigmatization of two-form versions of such verbs as with *see* : *seen* for *see* : *saw* : *seen* or *do* : *done* for *do* : *did* : *done*, for example *I seen the man, He done the work*. Two-form *see* and *do* are so common across vernacular varieties of English that they cannot be used as diagnostic evidence of the relatedness of varieties.

**past tense** A tense which points backwards in time, that is which refers to the past viewed from the time at which an utterance is spoken. Varying time depths may have formal expression in a language, such as the pluperfect in English which indicates that one action took place before another, both in the past, as in *She had eaten before he arrived*.

**patois** A French term which refers to a dialect which is unwritten and hence without a literary tradition. The (French) term *dialecte* refers conversely to a geographical variety which has an associated literature. Patois can also refer to basilectal varieties in creole scenarios and is often written *patwa*, see JAMAICA.

**Peace of Paris** See TREATY OF PARIS.

**peak** The acoustic centre of a syllable, usually consisting of a vowel or a syllabic sonorant as in *kettle* /ketl/. Also called the nucleus of a syllable.

**peer group** Any group of people of approximately the same age. Children and adolescents adopt the accents of peers in their environments. Various studies, such as that of the new town MILTON KEYNES, have shown this conclusively. See Kerswill and Williams (2000 [2.7.2]).

**pejorative** A term for an undesirable lexical connotation, for example *bitch* is not just a female dog but a derogative term for a woman, *peasant* is an older word for farmer but is also an insulting reference to an individual. Semantic change frequently involves a shift from a neutral to a negative meaning.

**Pennsylvania** A populous state in the north-east of the present-day United States. The region of Pennsylvania was settled by both English and German speakers in the eighteenth century, the former group including many ULSTER SCOTS. Some present-day features may stem from the speech of this group, for example the suppression of lexical verbs after verbs of volition or necessity (*want*, *need*, *like*) leaving just a preposition as in *The cat wants in. She wants off* or the feature of using a past participle as the complement of these verbs, for example *The dog wants fed; The lawn needs cut*. The largest city in Pennsylvania is PHILADELPHIA (the fifth most populous) in the south-east on the Delaware River, while the second-largest city, PITTSBURGH, is in the centre of Western Pennsylvania. The latter region is separated from the other two-thirds of the state by the Appalachian Mountains and has had a separate identity since the foundation of Pennsylvania in the late eighteenth century by the English Quaker William Penn (1644–1718).

**Pennsylvania German** A reference to West German dialects, chiefly from the Rheinland Palatinate, Alsace and Lorraine, which were taken to North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which exist in present-day forms in the USA and Canada. Pennsylvania German is chiefly associated with the AMISH, who have a large presence in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, hence the designation. The older term ‘Pennsylvania Dutch’ does not refer to a form of Dutch but to the German word *deutsch* (dialect pronunciation: [daɪtʃ]) ‘German’. See WISCONSIN ENGLISH and Bronner & Brown (eds, forthcoming [5.1.15]).

**PEN-PIN merger** Before nasals and velars the raising of /e/ to /i/ is well attested in the history of English (*think, English, string, sick*). This is a process with an auditive basis. The nasals suggest a raised vowel because of their formant structure: they have resonance below 800Hz and above 2000Hz with anti-resonance in between and so match the formant patterning of high front vowels as can be seen in Table 16 (Fry 1979: 117–118 [1.1.4]).

**Table 16** Formant values for mid and high vowels.

	F1	F2	
/e/	570	1970	as in <i>head</i>
/i/	300	2300	as in <i>heed</i>
/o/	450	740	as in RP <i>hoard</i>
/u/	300	940	as in RP <i>who'd</i>

Mid vowels have F1 and F2 closer together than high vowels. Front vowels have a higher F2 than back vowels. Nasal raising of /e/ to /i/ and of /o/ to /u/ can be seen as a kind of assimilation maximizing the distance between the first and second formants in anticipation of the distance between the two with nasals. In each case of nasal raising the distance between the formants increases.

The raising of /e/ to /i/ has led to a merger in many forms of English, for example south-west Irish English. Although it may previously have had a wider distribution it is now confined to a prenasal position and found in the south of the United States, cf. *pen, pin*, both [pin] (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 80 [5.1]; Montgomery 2001: 140 [5.1.1]).

**Peranakan** A reference to Chinese settlers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Indonesian archipelago. Many of the Peranakans came to speak Baba Malay, a pidgin once spoken in Malaysia. See Lim (2010 [7.2.2]).

**perception** The sounds of language which one hears. This contrasts with articulation, the production of sounds.

**perceptual dialectology** A branch of modern dialectology and sociolinguistics which examines how non-linguists perceive the different varieties in their region/country or outside of this. The perception may have a bearing on how varieties develop; for example, the perception that the most neutral type of US English is spoken by non-vernacular speakers in the Inland North may have led to the imitation of this accent by others. See Preston (1989 [1]).

**perfect** The simple past tense which does not refer to great time depth or to embedded actions in the past (PLUPERFECT) and which may in English express the relevance of the action to the present, for example *Fiona has spoken to Fergal* (present perfect).

**perfective** A type of aspect which expresses that an action is complete. This contrasts explicitly with the imperfective which leaves the question of completion open. The perfective may be expressed using a special verb form, as in the Slavic languages, or a language may use a verbal phrase in which case the perfective is said to be periphrastic.

**perfective, immediate** A type of perfective in Irish English which specifies that an action has just taken place. Such a perfective has high informational value for the hearer for whom it conveys something new, for example *She is after breaking the glass*. The structure is a calc on

Irish, cf. *Tá sí tar éis an ghloine a briseadh*, lit. 'is she after the glass breaking' which was transferred to English during the historical language shift. See ASPECT; PROTOTYPE.

**perfective, resultative** In standard English auxiliary *be* and a past participle indicates that an action is complete and a state has been reached, for example *The work is done*. In Irish English the word order Object + Past Participle is used with the auxiliary *have* to indicate that an intended result has been reached, for example *Fiona has the soup made* 'She has finished making the soup'. This is not a causative structure like Standard English *She has the house painted* (every year by a local workman).

**performance** See COMPETENCE AND PERFORMANCE.

**performative verbs** A classification of verbs found in speech act theory which indicates that they carry out the action which they refer to, for example commissives, verbs which involve a promise. With these the act of promising is embodied in the use of the verb.

**periphrasis** [pə'rifrəsis] (1) An alternative rendering of a phrase or sentence which is usually longer than the original but which retains the meaning, for example *to give due and proper attention to a matter* for *to consider something*. It is also found in the sense of a roundabout way of saying something, that is as a circumlocution. (2) Any expression which involves several words rather than a single form. For instance, grammatical categories which are realized by phrases rather than single words. Germanic languages (including English) have a periphrastic future but Romance languages have single forms, for example *I will go* (English), *ich werde gehen* (German) but *anderò* (Italian). Because of their limited lexical input creoles often use periphrastic means to create new words; the following are some examples: *boy-chil* 'son' (Bahamian), *juŋ-kin* 'son' (Negerhollands, Dutch source), *muchu-homber* 'son' (Papiamentu, Spanish source), *gras bilong face* 'beard' (Tok Pisin, English source).

**periphrastic** [pə'fræstɪk] '**do**' An unstressed form of the verb *do* which was used in simple declarative sentences up to about the beginning of the seventeenth century, for example *I do pronounce you guilty*. This is not to be confused with the use of *do* in questions and negatives and for emphasis in modern English, for example *Fiona 'does like linguistics*. See NICE PROPERTIES.

**perlocutionary force** The force which results from using a verb in a particular context, for example the perlocutionary force of the verb *apologize* is the effect of apologizing to a listener.

**person** A grammatical distinction which applies to the speaker, addressee or person talked about in verbal systems. Normally, there is a distinction between singular and plural as well. There are more distinctions available than just those found in European languages, for instance languages may distinguish between a personal form for 'we' which includes the addressee and one which does not. See EXCLUSIVE; INCLUSIVE.

**personal 'dative'** A term used to refer to a largely dialectal usage of personal pronouns to indicate the relevance of an action to the subject of a verb or its association with the subject, for example *I'm gonna buy me a new car in the summer* or *We had us a little party last night* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 383 [5.1], Christian 1991 [5.1.8]). The standard English equivalent is sometimes a reflexive, as with the first example just given, that is 'I'm going to

buy myself ...', but not always, cf. the second example. The personal 'dative' is found in Appalachian English (Christian 1991 [5.1.8]) and may well be a transported Scots-Irish feature, also found in Pittsburgh (Montgomery 2001: 125 [5.1.1]).

There is also the opposite case in which the individual adversely affected by an action is expressed, often by a prepositional phrase introduced by *on*, for example *They broke the vase on me*. This usage is common in Irish and Scottish English. Such structures are also acceptable to many speakers of American English.

**personal pronoun** A grammatical form which refers to the speaker, addressee or person talked about and which occupies a position immediately next to the verb. In discourse it is used to avoid repetition of a name which has already been mentioned and thus has an ANAPHORIC function. The choice of pronoun when talking to someone may vary in languages which have pronominal distinctions in their ADDRESS SYSTEM.

**pharynx** That section of the throat which lies immediately above the LARYNX.

**phatic** A reference to language use which has the function of establishing contact in a social situation rather than conveying meaning.

**Philadelphia** The main city in Eastern Pennsylvania where the Shuylkill River enters the Delaware River which forms the border with New Jersey. It has a metropolitan population of over 5 million and is, after New York, the second major city on the east coast of the United States. The city was founded in 1682 by William Penn as the centre for the Pennsylvania Colony. The city prospered in the eighteenth century, surpassing Boston, and played a pivotal role in the American Revolutionary War, even serving as a temporal capital before the government moved to Washington D.C. Following the industrialization of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the city saw a large influx of African Americans who had moved northwards as part of the GREAT MIGRATION.

Dialectally Philadelphia lies with the MIDLAND REGION but shares features with the north, for example it has a similar split of the 'short *a*' vowel in TRAP/BATH/DANCE (see NEW YORK ENGLISH) and a raised realization of the THOUGHT vowel, both of which are found in New York as well. A prominent feature shared with Southern dialects is the fronting of the GOAT and GOOSE vowels. A tendency towards the lowering of the KIT and DRESS vowels seems recent as does a raised onset for the PRICE diphthong and a fronted and raised onset for MOUTH. Vocalization of syllable-final /l/ is a salient feature of Philadelphia speech. See Gordon (2008: 75–79 [5.1.4]).

**Philippines, The** A country in the west Pacific north of Indonesia and south of China, 300,000 sq km in size with a population of about 93 million. The capital is Manila on Luzon Island in the north. Its metropolitan area, which contains Quezon City, has over 20 million inhabitants. English and Filipino (derived from the Austronesian language Tagalog) are official languages along with a number of other regionally recognized languages such as Bikol, Cebuano and Ilocano. Filipino is the national language of the Philippines. A former Spanish colony (the name derives from King Philip II of Spain) it came under American control in 1898 with the defeat of Spain. It became self-governing in 1934 and was recognized as an independent country in 1946. Because of the American period, US English is the EXONORMATIVE model in the Philippines.

Philippine English pronunciation shows the following salient features: (1) /r/ tends to be realized as a flap [ɾ]; (2) there is only an allophonic distinction between labial stops and fricatives,

if at all (though this depends on the native language of speakers, for example Ibanag has this distinction). The conflation of voiced labial obstruents may be a remnant of Spanish influence, for example *Viktoria* [biktorja]; (3) a distinction between narrow- and broad-grooved sibilants, that is [s] and [ʃ], is not always maintained, for example *dish* [dis], *push* [pus]; this also applies to affricates, for example *chip* [tʃip], *jeep* [dʒip]; (4) vowel length is not distinctive and monophthongal realizations of FACE and GOAT are normal, for example *place* [ples], *boat* [bot]. Basilectal varieties have simpler vowel systems, for example NURSE is [nars] and epenthetic vowels occur to break up consonant clusters, for example [tarap] for TRAP. See Tayao (2008 [7.2.3]), Thompson (2003 [7.2.3]), Bolton and Bautista (eds, 2008 [7.2.3]).

**philology** See COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

**phonaesthetics** The subarea of phonetics which is concerned with the possible connection between sound sequences and meaning, for example initial /fl-/ which seems to indicate 'fast flow or movement, frequently of liquids' as in *flow*, *fluid*, *fluent*, *flux*, *fling*, *flee*. See ONOMATOPOEIA.

**phonation** The production of sound by the vocal folds in the larynx when they vibrate in a quasi-periodic manner. This may strictly be regarded as voicing and phonation given a broader definition as any type of obstruction of the airstream from the lungs and which can be used for the production of sounds.

**phone** Any human sound which has not been classified in the phonology of a language.

**phoneme** In traditional phonology, the smallest unit in language which distinguishes meaning, for example /k/ and /g/ as in *coat* and *goat*. Each phoneme has one or more realizations, called ALLOPHONES.

**phonemics** The study of phonemes in language, their distribution, status and interrelationships.

**phonetic alphabet** A system of transcribing sounds in which one symbol is used for one and only for one sound. The most well-known alphabet of this kind is the INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET.

**phonetic spelling** A type of spelling in which the writer attempts to render sound values accurately.

**phonological** A reference to the phonology of a language, to the organization of the sounds of a language as a system. A language's phonology is its inventory of phonemes and the rules for their combination, distribution, and so on. In a wider sense, phonology could be said to subsume phonetics as its realizational aspect.

**phonological space** A spatial conception of the articulatory options in a certain language. It specifies boundaries and describes the framework in which changes can take place. For instance, the English GREAT VOWEL SHIFT took place in a phonological space which was defined by the peripheral vowels /i/ (front, high), /u/ (back, high) and /a/ (low).



**Phonological Survey of Texas** A survey which began in 1988 to document sound variation in Texas and which was to offer graduate students sociolinguistic experience and to provide data on the extent of phonological variation and change in Texas, see Bailey and Bernstein (1989 [5.1.9]).

**phonologization** A reference to a shift in status of a former allophonic alternation to a phonemic contrast, through loss or alteration of the environment that conditioned it. For instance, Old English *risan* [ri:zan] ‘rise’ showed a voicing of /s/ in medial position. With the loss of inflectional endings in Middle English the word-final [z] came to contrast with [s] in this position and thus altered its status to that of a phoneme. This is the origin of the present-day contrast of /z/ versus /s/ as in *rise* /raiz/ versus *rice* /rais/. This kind of development can also lead to a morphological distinction, see MORPHOLOGIZATION.

**phonology** The sound system of one or more languages and the study of this. Phonology involves the classification of sounds and a description of the interrelationship of these elements on a systemic level.

**phonostylistics** The study of those aspects of sounds which are used for expressive purposes.

**phonotactics** The rules specifying how sounds in a language combine and what position they can occupy in a syllable/word. For instance, English has a phoneme [ʃ], as in *shoe* [ʃu:], but this does not occur at the beginning of a word before a nasal or lateral, that is [ʃm-, ʃn-] and [ʃl-] are not permissible onsets on English. However, some varieties may be more lenient and for many speakers of American English [ʃl-] is possible in *schlock* [ʃlɒk] ‘shoddy goods, trash’ and [ʃm-] as in *schmooze* ‘chat up to someone’, both loanwords from Yiddish.

Creoles, because of their often strict CV syllable structure, may alter the phonotactics of English input words, either by simplifying a cluster as in *skin* [kin] or by breaking it up via an epenthetic vowel as in *skin* [sikin] (see the discussion in Smith and Haabo 2008: 375–376 [5.3.3.4] in the context of Suriname creoles).

**phrasal verb** A verb which always takes one or more prepositions and where the meaning of the combination of elements is different from the individual parts the construction may consist of, for example *to put up with something* does not derive from combining the meaning of *put+ up+ with*. Also called verb-particle constructions.

**phrase** (1) Any group of words which are taken to be less than a sentence, for example by lacking a finite verb, but which are regarded as forming a unit structurally. (2) A group of words which have a fixed meaning and which are generally used as a whole, for example *to spill the beans*, *to let the cat out of the bag*, *to flog a dead horse*, and so on. Such phrases are normally unalterable, for instance ‘to beat a dead horse’ does not have the same meaning as the phrase with ‘flog’, that is it is literal and not metaphorical.

**phraseology** The linguistic analysis of phrases in sense (2) in the preceding entry (PHRASE).

**phylum** A very large family of languages in which there are recognizable sub-families, groups and branches. AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES would constitute a phylum.



**pidgin** A type of language which arises from the need to communicate between two groups. Historically, and it would seem in all cases, one of the groups is in a more dominant social position than the other. The language of the former provides the base on which the latter then creates the pidgin. During the colonial period pidgins arose in contact situations, typically trade, between Europeans – soldiers, sailors, tradesmen – and native populations. The latter were more or less forced to develop some form of communication with the former. This consisted of a much restricted form of the colonial language as it initially served the sole purpose of communicating with the colonists. The lexicon of a pidgin is usually taken from the lexifier language (the European one in question) and its grammar may derive from native input (such as the languages of West Africa during the slave trade with the Caribbean and America) and from vernacular varieties of English. The further development of a pidgin is a CREOLE, the first language of a later generation, although this stage does not have to be reached if there is no necessity or pressure to develop a native language. If a creole does arise, its speakers may develop their own grammatical structures apparently using an innate blueprint which many linguists assume speakers have from birth (see Table 17).

**Table 17** Scenarios for the development of pidgins and creoles.

<i>Social situation</i>	<i>Linguistic correlate</i>
(1) Marginal contact	Restricted pidgin
(2) Nativization	Extended pidgin
(3) Mother tongue development	Creole
(4) Movement towards more standard language (not necessarily input language)	Decreolization

The process of pidginization is very common in any non-prescriptive situation in which a common means of communication is called for. Such a variety can die out quickly once the situation which gave rise to it no longer obtains. If the situation does continue to exist, then the pidgin is likely to survive. The steps from restricted to extended pidgin and further to creole are only taken in very few instances. Hence the grammatical restructuring typical of creoles is normally only carried out by a small number of input pidgins. See Holm (2000 [9]), Romaine (1988 [9]).

**pidgin, expanded** A pidgin which has been adopted as a general means of communication by a larger community (Holm 1988: 5 [9]) but which has not become a CREOLE, a first language.

**pidgin, origin of the term** The following are the main views on the origin of the term ‘pidgin’. (1) A Chinese pronunciation of *business*. This is known as a term for any action or occupation, cf. *joss-pidgin* ‘religion’ and *chow-chow-pidgin* ‘cooking’, and could have been used for a language variety which arose for trading purposes. (2) Portuguese *ocupação* meaning ‘trade, job, occupation’. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the Portuguese were among the first overseas traders. However, the shift from the original word to /pidʒɪn/ is difficult to explain phonetically. (3) A form from the South American language Yayo ‘-pidian’ meaning ‘people’ (a claim made by David Kleinecke in 1959). This form occurs in tribal names like ‘Mapidian’, ‘Tarapidian’, and so on. This claim rests on a single occurrence of the word ‘Pidians’ in a text from 1606. But it has been pointed out this might be a spelling error for

'Indians'. (4) Ian Hancock suggested in 1972 that the term derives from 'pequeno português' which is used in Angola for the vernacular Portuguese spoken there. This view is semantically motivated, seeing that the word 'pequeno' is often used to mean 'offspring', in this case a language derived from another. Phonetically, the shift to /pidʒɪn/ is not implausible. (5) The Hebrew word 'pidjom' meaning 'barter'. This suggestion is phonetically and semantically plausible. However, it hinges on the distribution of a Jewish word outside Europe and its acceptance as a general term for a trade language.

**pidginization** The process through which pidgins arise.

**pidgins, theories of origin of** Various theories have been proposed in the last hundred years or so. There are basically five which show a degree of overlap. (1) *The baby-talk theory* At the end of the nineteenth century Charles LELAND (1824–1903), when discussing China coast pidgin English, noted that there were many similarities with the speech of children such as the following features: (i) a high percentage of content words with a correspondingly low number of function words; (ii) little morphological marking; (iii) more flexible word classes than in adult language (with much CONVERSION); (iv) a reduced set of contrasts in the area of pronouns; (v) a minimal number of inflections. Later linguists, notably Otto Jespersen (1860–1943) and Leonard Bloomfield (1887–1949), maintained that the characteristics of pidgins resulted from imperfect mastery of a language. These views are not supported nowadays and are not entirely free of racism. However, the observed features are often characteristic of pidgins. (2) *Independent parallel development theory* This maintains that the obvious similarities between the world's pidgins and creoles arose on independent but parallel lines due to the fact that they (nearly) all are derived from languages of Indo-European stock and, in the case of the Atlantic varieties, due to their sharing a common West African substrate. Furthermore, scholars like Robert Hall (1911–1997) specified that the similar social and physical conditions under which pidgins arose were responsible for the development of similar linguistic structures. (3) *Nautical jargon theory* As early as 1938 the American linguist John Reinecke (1904–1982) noted the possible influence of nautical jargon on pidgins. On voyages overseas many nationalities were represented among the crews of ships. This led to the development of a core vocabulary of NAUTICAL items. Later pidgins show many of these lexical items irrespective of where they are spoken. Thus the word *capsize* appears with the meaning 'turn over' or 'spill' in both West Atlantic and Pacific pidgins. Other nautical terms, which are general words in pidgins, are *heave*, *hoist*, *hail*, *galley*, *cargo*. This theory does not account for the many structural similarities between pidgins with different lexifier languages. (4) *Monogenesis/ relexification theory* This view maintains that all pidgins can be traced back to a single proto-pidgin, a fifteenth-century Portuguese pidgin, called *sabir* (from the word for 'know'), which itself was probably a relic of the medieval *lingua franca* which was the common means of communication among the Crusaders and traders in the Mediterranean area. *Lingua franca* survived longest on the North African coast and is attested from Algeria and Tunisia as late as the nineteenth century. The monogenesis theory maintains that when Portuguese influence in Africa declined, the vocabulary of the then established pidgins would have been replaced by that of the new colonial language which was dominant in the area, for example English or French. As the Portuguese were among the first traders in India and South-East Asia a similar situation is assumed: the vocabulary of the original Portuguese pidgin was replaced by that of a later European language (RELEXIFICATION). In this process the grammatical structure of pidgins would not have been affected by the switch in vocabulary. Thus the obvious structural similarity of all

pidgins would go back to the grammar of the proto-pidgin. This theory does not explain why pidgins have analytic grammars: there are a number of marginal pidgins (Russenorsk, Eskimo Trade Jargon) which cannot be connected with Portuguese and which are nonetheless analytic in structure. (5) *Universalist theory* This regards the similarities as due to universal tendencies among humans to create languages of a similar type, that is analytic languages with a simple phonology, SVO syntax with little or no subordination, and with a lexicon which makes maximum use of polysemy (and devices such as reduplication) operating from a limited core vocabulary.

**pidgins and creoles, English-lexifier** Table 18 lists the main pidgins/creoles in the English-speaking world divided by geographical region. In several cases the status as a creole is contested, that is the variety is regarded as a pidgin. For remarks on Bajan, *see* BARBADOS.

**Pijin** A pidgin spoken on the Solomon Islands in the South-West Pacific. It arose in the nineteenth century out of Melanesian Pidgin English, a common form which also served as input to TOK PISIN (Papua New Guinea) and BISLAMA (Vanuatu).

**Pilgrim Fathers** The name given to early settlers in Massachusetts who founded a colony in 1620. They originated among Protestant dissenters in the East Midlands of England who left for Holland to attain religious freedom and then moved to North America to found an English-speaking colony there.

**Pitcairn Islands** A group of four islands in the south-east Pacific with a total area of 47 sq km and a population of 67 (2011). The main island is Pitcairn with Adamstown the chief settlement. It is presently a British Overseas Territory with a settlement history which can be traced to the mutineers of the HMS *Bounty* which was seized by its crew in 1789 in a revolt against its commanding officer William Bligh. Some Tahitians (mostly women) settled on the island with the mutineers in 1790 and formed a community. A creole, PITKERN, developed from the mixture of late eighteenth-century English and Tahitian.

**pitch** A reference to the frequency used to produce vowels. A rise in pitch is a common means to realize prominence in a syllable, for instance to emphasize a word in a discourse.

**Pitkern** A creole which arose out of the English of the eighteenth-century mutineers on Pitcairn and the Tahitian substrate of their women and children. It is related to the creole NORFUK spoken on NORFOLK ISLAND where descendents of the mutineers had settled. See Mühlhäusler (2007 [8.3.5]).

**Pitmatic** A popular reference to the dialect of the counties of Northumberland and Durham.

**Pittsburgh** The chief city of Western Pennsylvania at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers with a metropolitan population of over 2 million. The term ‘Pittsburghese’ is used as a label for English in Pittsburgh, a prominent feature of which is diphthong flattening in the MOUTH LEXICAL SET, for example *downtown* [da:nta:n]. Other features are those shared with Western Pennsylvania (*see* COT-CAUGHT MERGER) and northern Appalachian English in general. See McElhinny (1999 [5.1.2]). Pittsburghese has been studied in detail in the context of ENREGISTERMENT, *see* Johnstone, Andrus & Danielson (2006 [5.1.4]) and Johnstone & Kiesling (2008 [5.1.4]).

**Table 18** Pidgins and creoles of the anglophone world.

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Atlantic		
West Africa		
	West African Pidgin English	
	Krio	Sierra Leone
	Liberian Creole	Liberia
	Ghanaian Pidgin	Ghana
	Nigerian Pidgin	Nigeria
	Kamtok	Cameroon
	Fernando Po Creole (Pichinglis)	Bioko (Equatorial Guinea)
Caribbean		
	North Caribbean; South, South-East United States	
	Bahamian	Bahamas (north Caribbean)
	Gullah	Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia
	Afro-Seminole	Brackettville (Texas)
	early African American English	United States
	East/South-East Caribbean	
	East Caribbean Creole	Leeward Islands
	East Caribbean Creole	Dutch Windwards Islands
	East Caribbean Creole	Virgin Islands
	East Caribbean Creole	Trinidad and Tobago
	Bajan	Barbados
	West Caribbean	
	Jamaican Creole	Jamaica
	West Caribbean Creole	Cayman Islands (south of Cuba)
	Western Rim	
	Belizean Creole	Belize
	Bay Islands Creole	Coastal Honduras (Central America)
	Limón Creole	Costa Rica
	Miskito Coast	Nicaragua
	Central American Creole	San Andrés y Providencia
	Southern Rim	
	Sranan	Suriname
	Saramaccan	Suriname
	Ndjuka	Suriname
	Guyana	Guyana
Pacific		
	Central	
	Hawaiian Creole	Hawai'i
	South	
	Pitkern and Norfuk	Pitcairn and Norfolk
	South-West	
	Melanesian Pidgin English	
	Tok Pisin	Papua New Guinea
	Pijin	Solomon Islands
	Bislama	Vanuatu
	Australia	
	Australian Aboriginal Kriol	Northern Territory of Australia
	Torres Strait Creole	North of Australia

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**place names** The names of places often contain information about linguistic groups from previous ages, given that those who move into an area do not usually change existing names but continue them. For instance, there are Celtic names in south-east England, such as London and Kent which were kept by both the Romans and the Germanic settlers. Furthermore, place names often document the geographical spread of pronunciation variants, for example *Manchester*, *Chester* show the palatalization of /k/, present in the Latin original *castra* ‘camp’, but cities further north do not, for example *Lancaster*, *Doncaster*. In the United States and Canada the names of states and provinces very largely reflect names stemming from Native American groups.

**place of articulation** The point in the vocal tract at which a sound is produced. This can be anywhere from the lips at the front to the glottis (the gap between the vocal folds) at the back. The most common place of articulation is the alveolar ridge just behind the upper teeth.

**plantation** A large farm, usually with considerable staff, which is devoted to the growing of a single crop, often destined for a foreign market. In the past few centuries plantations were maintained in the colonies which exported such products as sugar, tobacco, cotton, coffee or tea. The plantation environment was often conducive to creolization as slaves were mixed and then kept in isolation without much exposure to native varieties of English (or other European languages) and of course enjoyed no education.

**pleonasm** A superfluous use of words as in *At this point in time for At this time*.

**plosive** A sound which is produced with a complete blockage of the pulmonic airstream. Also called a stop, examples are /p, t, k; b, d, g/.

**pluperfect** A verb form found in many Indo-European languages, including English, and which expresses an action which is in the remote past or which took place before another in the past, for example *Fiona had spoken with Fergal before she went home*. The simple past tense (here: *went*) is understood to refer to a time closer to the present.

**plural** A category in the grammar of all languages which refers to more than one object. All languages have a particular means for expressing this category, frequently by using a characteristic inflection or a particle indicating plurality.

**plurals, archaic** There is a small number of old plurals in English which belong to the core vocabulary of the language and which are not the model for new plurals, for example *man ~ men*, *foot ~ feet*, *ox ~ oxen*, *sheep ~ sheep* (zero plural). Many more of these used to exist in English but have been lost or are only found in archaic language such as poetry, for example *kine* ‘cows’.

**plurals, irregular** By and large the differing plural forms of earlier English have been levelled to a single plural form in *-s*. There may be occasional survivals with commonly occurring nouns, for example *childer*. Regularized plurals can occur where the words in questions are normally either unmarked for plural or irregularly so, for example *sheeps*, *womans*, or double plurals like *mices*, *mens* (Wakelin 1984: 79 [2.1]).

**plurals, remnants of nasal** Older weak plurals in *-n* can still be found, above all in Scots and Ulster Scots, for example with *eyen* < *eyes* (Burchfield 1994a: 9 [1.5]) or /ʃɪn, ʃøn/ for *shoes* in Scots (McClure 1994: 69 [3.1]).

**plurals, unmarked** In traditional dialects of English singular nouns are found when accompanied by a numeral, usually indicating quantity or measurement, for example *It's seven year ago now. He's here five year now*. See Miller (1993: 109–110 [3.1]) and NOUNS, MEASURE.

**pluricentric language** A language which has a number of geographical centres towards which regional varieties may gravitate. The centres in question are characterized by a large degree of independence from their historical sources, for example the United States or Australia from Britain. Spanish is also a pluricentric language with Central and South American centres, for example Mexico, Argentina, in addition to Spain. See HETERONYMY and EPICENTRE.

**Polari** [ˈpəʊləɹɪ] An ARGOT which used to be quite widespread among certain social groups in Britain, such as travellers or people working for the theatre or circus or among gay communities. It has survived in the form of a small lexicon of in-group words such as *manky* 'dirty, worthless' perhaps influenced by the Romance stem seen in French *manqué* 'lacking' or Italian *mancare* 'to lack'.

**Polish** A west Slavic language spoken by about 38 million in Poland. Since its accession to the European Union in 2004 (along with the Baltic countries Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) many Poles emigrated to English-speaking countries, above all Britain and Ireland where they represent significant ethnic minorities, often speaking varieties of English showing the influence of their heritage language.

**politeness** An aspect of social behaviour which shows deference towards the wishes and concerns of the addressee. There are linguistic strategies for maximizing politeness in exchanges, for example by employing INDIRECT SPEECH ACTS and using formal address terms in order to save the face of the addressee. See Watts (2003 [1.3.3]).

**polyglot** A reference to several languages, either to an individual who can speak many or to a text which contains several languages frequently in parallel form, for example a polyglot edition of the Bible.

**polylectal** A term used to denote the ability of speakers to understand, and possibly use, different varieties of their language. For instance, most speakers of English would understand that *them cars* means 'those cars' even if they do not use the structure themselves. The same would apply to *I done it* or *I seen it* for *I did it* and *I saw it* respectively.

**Polynesia** One of three divisions of the Pacific into geographical-cultural areas, the other two being Melanesia and Micronesia. Polynesia forms a triangle in the south Pacific with Hawaii the apex and New Zealand and Easter Island the left and right lower corners respectively. It consists of about 1,000 islands in the central and south Pacific, many of which were British colonies and hence have English as an input to the pidgins and creoles which developed in the region. Among the present-day island nations in Polynesia are Hawai'i (a state of the United States), the former Gilbert Islands, called Kiribati since independence in 1979, just

south of the equator towards the centre of the Pacific, Tokelau (territory of New Zealand), the Cook Islands and Niue (both associated with New Zealand), Pitcairn Islands (British Overseas Territory), Norfolk Island (governed by Australia), American Samoa (an unincorporated territory of the United States), Samoa (independent), Tonga (former Friendly Islands, independent), Tuvalu (formerly Ellice Islands (in part) and independent since 1978). From 1901 to 1952 many of these states, for example Tonga and Tuvalu, were part of the British Western Pacific Territories, governed by a high commissioner resident on Fiji. In many of these countries the official languages are English and the native Polynesian language, such as Tuvaluan on Tuvalu. New Zealand is grouped with the Polynesian islands because of its native language Maori. Fiji and Vanuatu in the South-West Pacific are aligned with MELANESIA and not Polynesia.

**Polynesian languages** A subgroup of Austronesian languages spoken in the island nations of the central and south Pacific.

**polysemy** A reference to a word which shows more than one meaning. In such instances one of the meanings is usually basic and the other derived, for example *foot* (part of the body) and *foot* (base of something) as in *at the foot of the mountain*. See HOMONYM.

**POOR-POUR merger** A type of merger found with many speakers of non-rhotic varieties, such as RP, who have a lowered realization of the vowel in the CURE LEXICAL SET. This means that homophones arise such as *poor and pour*, both [pɔ:], from [pʊə] and [pɔə] respectively, by smoothing. This is also found in some traditional dialects, see Trudgill (2008a: 188 [2.6]) on East Anglia.

**portmanteau** A French term referring to any morpheme which unites two separate morphemes. Sometimes the new form is not identifiable as consisting of the two input forms, for example *au* /o/ in French which is derived from *à + le* or *ain't* from *is + not* in many varieties of English. Portmanteaux can also be proper nouns, for example *Singlish* from *Singapore + English*.

**Portuguese** A Romance language spoken in Europe in Portugal, a country in the west of the Iberian peninsula with an area of 92,000 sq km and a population of approximately 11 million. However, the vast majority of speakers of Portuguese are in Brazil, approximately 190 million as well as some few million more in Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Guiné-Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe and East Timor.

**Portuguese colonialism** The Portuguese were the first Europeans to have bases outside Europe, beginning by establishing trading posts along the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth century. In the Age of Discovery (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries) it was Portuguese explorers like Vasco da Gama (c.1460–1524), Bartolomeu Dias (c.1451–1500) and Ferdinand Magellan (c.1480–1521) who made the first long voyages to Asia, even circumnavigating the world. The Portuguese were the first to settle or do trade at various locations in Asia, especially in India (at Goa) and Ceylon, but also in South-East Asia, along the south Chinese coast (at Macau) and even as far north as Japan (Nagasaki in the 1570s). There was later competition with other colonial powers, especially the Dutch in South Asia and in the Dutch East Indies. There has not been much interaction between English and Portuguese overseas. Those colonies which have a Portuguese colonial background retain this as a co-official language with indigenous languages, for example in Mozambique or Angola.



**positive *anymore*** A structure which is common in mid-American English (Eitner 1991 [5.1.2]) and seen in a sentence like *They watch a lot of videos anymore* meaning ‘nowadays’ (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 142 [5.1]). The source is probably Irish *riamb* [riəv] which has this meaning and use. It was first transferred to Ulster Scots in Ireland and then transported by this group to North America.

**post-alveolar** A reference to a sound produced with the tongue at a point behind the alveolar ridge.

**post-colonial English** In recent years there has been increasing scholarly activity dedicated to (i) the post-colonial nature of many overseas forms of English and (ii) the nature and structure of World Englishes. The former area has been investigated in particular by Edgar Schneider, see Schneider (2003, 2007 [10.3]). For the latter a number of works are available, for example McArthur (2002 [1]), Kachru, Kachru and Nelson (eds, 2006 [10]). A general overview and introduction is provided by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008 [10]). In this context one can mention the recent treatments of English in Asia, for example Bolton (ed., 2002 [7.3.1]), Bolton (2003 [7.3.2]), Bolton and Kachru (eds, 2007 [10]).

**post-creole continuum** A reference to the surviving varieties of a language after it has ceased to be a creole and has begun to move towards more standard forms, for example African American English in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (in one view of its development).

**post-modification** A reference to the order ‘head + modifier’ in languages. This applies to nominatives + genitives, nouns + adjectives as well as to the word orders VSO in which the subject and object occur after the verb, for example in Irish and Welsh. *See* PRE-MODIFICATION.

**post-sonorant devoicing** A process whereby a voiced stop is devoiced when it occurs word-finally after a sonorant, for example rural Irish English *beyond* [br'jant].

**post-sonorant stop variation** In some traditional varieties in both North America as well as Britain and Ireland a voiceless stop is found after a sonorant in a past participle when this has an adjectival function but not when it is verbal, for example *The milk spilled onto the floor*, but *Spilt milk*; *The house burned for hours*, but *Burnt wood* (Lass 1987: 278 [1.5]).

**postvocalic r** *See* NON-PREVOCALIC/R/.

**power-solidarity** Two aspects of social position which find expression in the use of forms of address. In situations where power is the prevailing factor the formal *V*-form of address dominates. In situations where a speaker wishes to show solidarity with the addressee the less formal *T*-form is more likely to occur. *See* ADDRESS SYSTEM, T-FORM and V-FORM.

**Praat** A computer program used for displaying, manipulating and analysing sound files, typically short stretches of speech gained by recording informants. It was developed by the Dutch phoneticians and computer scientists Paul Boersma and David Weenink of the University of Amsterdam; there are many additions to the software (so-called scripts) which provide extra functionality to the basic program. It is available as freeware for academic use.

**pragmatic markers** A set of words or small phrases which are not an integral part of the syntactic structure of a sentence but which supply additional information about the tone or setting of an utterance, for example *Well, things are different now. I mean, you are entitled to more money. You know, he is not really suitable*. Varieties and registers of language can vary in the number, type and application of such markers, for example Singapore English is known for the particle *lah* used for solidarity, agreement or for drawing attention, for example *Your work very good, lah*.

**pragmatics** The study of language in use in interpersonal communication. Apart from linguistic pragmatics, there is also philosophical and psychological pragmatics, as developed in the late nineteenth century by the American psychologist William James (1842–1910) and the philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914).

**pragmatics, variational** A relatively new research agenda which considers the variation in pragmatics across varieties of PLURICENTRIC LANGUAGES, such as English, but also Romance languages like Spanish and French. It considers to what extent geographical and cultural separation has led to differences in language use arising over time. This would involve such issues as requests, offers, responses, small talk and politeness strategies in general. See Schneider & Barron (eds, 2008 [1.3.3]).

**pre-aspiration** An aspect of the articulation of consonants in which the voice of a preceding vowel ceases before the consonant begins, yielding a period of voicelessness. This can be an established feature of a language, as in Scottish Gaelic, or a phonetic phenomenon in the speech of some speakers of English.

**predicate** That element in a sentence which offers information about the subject, for example *John is a teacher*; here *is a teacher* is a predicate. The term is also employed simply to denote the verb of a sentence.

**predicative** A reference to an adjective which occurs after a form of the copula *be* instead of before the noun it qualifies. Some adjectives can only occur in this position, for example *The girl is awake/asleep/alive* but ?*The awake/asleep/alive girl* is not possible.

**prefix** An element which is attached to the front of a stem, for example *for-* in *forget, forgive* or *de-* in *decommission, detox, defuse, deplane*. Prefixes may also be independent elements, cf. *out* in *outdo, outwit, outlast*.

**prefixation** The process of adding a prefix to a word. In word-formation this may be productive, that is not restricted to certain stems, as with the negative prefix *un-* in present-day English seen in *certain : uncertain*, for instance.

**pre-modification** A reference to the order ‘modifier+head’ in languages. This applies to genitives + nominatives, adjectives + nouns as well as to the word orders SVO and SOV in which the subject and possibly the object occur before the verb. See POST-MODIFICATION.

**preposition** A grammatical word which occurs in conjunction with a noun or phrase and which expresses the relation it has to other elements in a sentence, for example *The book is on the table*, *The key is under the mat*. In an analytic language like English prepositions play a central role in the grammar.

**preposition deletion** A feature of American English whereby a preposition before a day of the week (temporal adverb) is not present, for example *We're going there (on) Tuesday*. This may be an influence from German, which allows such temporal reference without a preposition: *Ich habe sie Montag gesehen*, lit. 'I have her Monday seen'.

**prepositional phrase** A part of a sentence which consists of a noun phrase preceded by a preposition and which functions in its entirety as a verbal complement, for example *She cut the cake [with a knife]*.

**pre-rhotic tensing** A feature of vernacular Irish English which involves the raising and tensing of the TRAP vowel, /æ/, when it occurs before a tautosyllabic /r/, *car* [ke:r], *farmer* [fɛ:rmə]. This also occurs in local Dublin English, though for many speakers the /r/ following the vowel is very weak, if pronounced at all.

**pre-rhotic vowel distinctions** In the history of English there has been a steady reduction in vowel distinctions before a tautosyllabic /r/, both in English dialects and those overseas. Some of these have been retained in traditional dialects, *see* the NURSE-TERM DISTINCTION, while others have gone beyond the range of mergers found in standard varieties, *see* the MARY-MERRY-MARRY MERGER.

**prescriptive** A reference to the notion that certain forms, structures, constructions in language are 'correct' and hence better than others. Such statements can be found in many historical documents of the last three centuries and in language usage guides today. The opposite of DESCRIPTIVE.

**prescriptivism** A tradition which arose in the early modern period in England (after the establishment of a de facto standard in the south-east around London) and which sought to prescribe language usage, especially by means of grammars, the best known of which is by Robert LOWTH (1710–1787), first published in 1762. Other grammars in this vein are Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761), William Cobbett (1763–1835), *English Grammar* (1829) and Lindley Murray (1745–1826), *English Grammar* (1794). *See* ELOCUTION.

**prescriptivism, new** Since the eighteenth century there has been a continuous level of prescriptivism in all English-speaking countries. With the advent of digital communication, especially the Internet, new avenues for the dissemination of prescriptive views have arisen and many Internet websites now exist offering 'help' to potential customers by claiming to know what is 'correct' (often by first engendering a feeling of linguistic insecurity). The prescriptive 'complaints' (*see* COMPLAINT TRADITION) are usually about spelling, grammar and vocabulary and are concentrated in areas where there is inherent variation, for example *different from*, *than* or *to*.

**present, narrative** In many varieties inflectional -s, which by the late Middle English period was only found on the third person singular (then still -*th*), was re-functionalized and generalized to other persons to indicate a narrative present, for example *They comes back from*

*the pub and finds the house wrecked* (Hickey 2001: 15 [3.3]). This usage shows partial overlap with the punctual habitual as in *They calls this place City Square* and with non-standard VERBAL CONCORD.

**present for present perfect** This feature is found both in second-language varieties of English, typically in Asia and Africa, and also in some language-shift varieties such as Irish English which has contexts in which the present is used rather than the present perfect of more standard forms of English, for example *I know her since she was a child*. This is also called ‘extended now’ (Harris 1993: 161 [3.3]) and is probably due to the greater range of the present in Irish and the typologically unusual verbal category ‘present perfect’.

**present tense** A tense indicating that an action is occurring at the current time or the time of discourse. In some cases the present tense can have future reference when it occurs with an appropriate temporal expression, for example *The president travels to England next week*. However, in such contexts the progressive is perhaps more common, that is *The president is travelling to England next week*.

**prestige** An attribute of varieties which is determined by how they are viewed by speakers. Usually a standard variety enjoys highest prestige in a community and is favoured in public and official usage. Other varieties enjoy correspondingly less prestige. If a particular variety has a long tradition and high awareness then it may have increased prestige compared with other non-standard varieties. This is the case with Cockney in England which has a certain status as the vernacular of the capital which other urban varieties do not necessarily have.

**prestige, overt and covert** A reference to different kinds of prestige. Overt prestige is usually enjoyed by a standard which is explicitly codified, for example in grammars, usage manuals and dictionaries. Covert prestige is a characteristic of vernaculars: speakers do not openly praise them, but their local identity function means that they favour them over more standard varieties in community-internal communication. See Trudgill (1974 [2.6]).

**prestige reversal** In American English the use of non-prevocalic /r/ as in *car* [kɑ:ɾ] and *card* [kɑ:ɾd] now enjoys prestige but prior to World War II this was not the case, the non-rhotic pronunciation being favoured in public usage and found in superstrate pronunciations of the North-East, for example in Boston. But a gradual change set in with the use of retroflex [ɾ], found in areas such as the Inland North and the Midwest, becoming increasingly prestigious. This change in status has led to non-prevocalic /r/ encroaching on traditionally non-rhotic areas such as the south of the United States.

**presupposition** Any information which is taken for granted in a discourse situation; for instance, the sentence *Did you enjoy your breakfast?* implies that the addressee already had breakfast.

**preterite** The simplest form of the past tense, that is which is not formed using an auxiliary verb, for example *He spoke* as opposed to *He has spoken*.

**preterite-present verb** A small set of verbs in which the original preterite form came to be used in a present tense sense; many of these verbs – such as *would* and *should* in English – became modals later.

**preverbal *do*** A reference to the auxiliary use of *do* immediately before a verb, often to express HABITUAL OR PERFECTIVE aspect as in *He does go out a lot at the weekend; They done milked the cows*.

**PRICE lexical set** A set of words which all have the same vowel as the word *price*. This is usually [aɪ] but can vary across varieties, for example through diphthong flattening [a:], as in forms of AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH, or onset retraction [ɒɪ], as in OCRACOE BROGUE. For varieties such as Canadian English it is necessary to posit a PRIZE lexical set, *see* PRICE-PRIZE DISTINCTION.

**PRICE-PRIZE distinction** A reference to the different realization of the /ai/ vowel before voiceless and voiced consonants. The best known example of this is CANADIAN RAISING, a general feature of supraregional Canadian English, where /ai/ has a centralized onset before voiceless consonants but not before voiced ones, contrast *site* [saɪt] and *side* [saɪd]. Canadian English also has this distinction for the /au/ diphthong, for example *lout* [laʊt] and *loud* [laʊd], but this does not hold for all dialects which have differential realizations of /ai/.

**Prince Edward Island** The smallest Canadian province, straddling the northern coasts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with which it forms the Maritimes on the Atlantic coast, abbreviated to the alphabetism 'PEI'. It has an area of 5,683 sq km and a population of about 142,000. With the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the island was transferred from French to British control and was then known as St. John's Island. Despite hosting the Charlottetown Conference on the founding of Canada in 1864 it did not enter the Confederation until 1873. Prince Edward Island is overwhelmingly English-speaking, with about 4 per cent claiming to be French-speaking.

**principal parts** A reference to a small number of verb forms – such as *sing* : *sang* : *sung* – which are enough for all other forms to be derived. These usually consist of the uninflected present tense, the simple past and the past participle.

**principle of least effort** A putative principle in linguistic behaviour whereby speakers choose to articulate segments which require least muscular effort. There are at least two difficulties with such assumptions: (i) defining what is really meant by 'least effort' and (ii) proving its operation across a representative cross-section of languages.

**private letters** Letters of a personal nature which have become accessible to scholars for linguistic or other academic assessment. Such documents are usually historical (their access would demand that for ethical reasons) and can be used to determine the development of vernacular language at a given period. There are also corpora of such letters, for example the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* by Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg at the University of Helsinki. *See* EGO-DOCUMENTS.

**proclitic** An element which is attached to the beginning of a word. Such elements are always unstressed, grammatical in meaning and one stage before an inflectional morpheme in terms of being bound to lexical stems. An example is Old English *on life* [ɔn li:və] 'alive' where the preposition merged with the following noun, finally becoming phonetically reduced to /ə/ and inseparable from the noun.

**pro-drop** A reference to the lack of a personal pronoun with verb forms which are unambiguous with regard to person and number. Pro-drop (< ‘the dropping of the personal pronoun’) is a feature of Spanish and Italian, for example *cambio* ‘I change’ (the stressed form would be *yo cambio* or *io cambio* respectively). The setting for the pro-drop parameter may be transferred by Spanish speakers to English, which does not allow the dropping of personal pronouns with verbs.

**productivity** A measure of the general applicability of a given process. For instance, the prefixation of *re-* to verbs in modern English is productive because this can be done with practically all verbs, for example *re-think*, *re-do*, *re-write*. The term also refers – in syntax – to the ability of speakers to produce an unlimited number of sentences using a limited set of structures.

**productivity, morphological** A reference to the use of productive patterns in inflectional or word-formational morphology. An example would be the construction ‘verb + *in*’ as in *sit-in* which derives from the notion of remaining in a building out of protest. This became popular in the second half of the twentieth century and came to be used with other verbs, for example *sleep-in*, *teach-in*, *cook-in*.

**progressive** (1) A phonetic effect (assimilation) whereby a sound provokes a change in a sound which follows it, for example the devoicing of /l/ in a word like *clean* due to the preceding voiceless stop. (2) A form of a verb which emphasizes the duration of an action as in *Fiona is talking to her daughter*. For varieties which do not have an *-ing* form there may be an extra progressive marker, for example *a* in Jamaican Creole *Mi a ron* ‘I am running’ (Patrick 2008: 615 [5.3.1]).

**progressive, range of** The progressive does not normally occur with stative verbs, but it may do in South African English as in *Who’s that car outside belonging to?* The progressive with stative verbs also occurs in second-language Asian and African Englishes.

**progressive with busy** A particularly South African feature is the use of *busy* in progressive constructions. This use has a range far greater than that in other varieties of English, for example *I was so busy being amused*; *She was busy sleeping when he came home* (Mesthrie ed., 2002 [6.3.1]).

**pronoun** A grammatical element which refers to a noun previously mentioned (sometimes one not yet mentioned). It has a deictic or anaphoric (occasionally cataphoric) function as in *The lecturer was here and he spoke to us on a special topic* (anaphoric); *He wasn’t very fair to us, our new teacher* (cataphoric).

**pronoun, resumptive** A pronoun which points back in the same sentence to a co-referential noun, often the object of a verb in a relative clause as in *The books that they couldn’t sell them*. It is common in vernaculars and occurs in creoles also. See Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2006: 343 [5.1]) for its occurrence in American English. This usage is different from cases like *My brother, he’s moved to England* where the pronoun is co-referential with the topicalized noun phrase *My brother*. The latter type is found in many second-language varieties of English.



**pronoun exchange** A feature of south-western dialects of English English which involves the use of a subject pronoun in object position or that which would demand the OBLIQUE CASE, for example *Well, if I didn't know they, they knowed I* (Wagner 2012 [1.6]). This feature is generally thought to stem from an emphatic usage of the pronouns. The varieties which show this usage (Devon, part of Cornwall and a small part of west Somerset) can also have object pronouns in subject position, though this is less common, *Him isn't coming today*. Pronoun exchange is found to a limited extent in other vernaculars, for example in Northern English for the first person plural, for example *You can come with we to that as well; Us'll do it*. (Beal 2008b: 377 [2.10]). The use of *us* together with a subject noun is more common colloquially, for example *Us Irish often work abroad*.

**pronoun problem, the** A reference to the difficulty of using pronouns in English without any gender bias, especially in generic statements, for example *The linguist must consider carefully what he/she says*. Avoidance strategies are often adopted, for example using plurals where possible.

**pronoun (relative) with subject reference** Apart from the standard usage of zero pronoun with object reference, for example *The woman – he knows has come*, many varieties of English allow this when the referent is the subject as in *The woman – lives here has come; That's the woman – taught me*. This is a feature of London and Home County English (Edwards 1993: 228–229 [2.7]) and may well have been taken overseas during the COLONIAL PERIOD.

**pronouns, possessive** /mi/ for *my* /mai/ is a very common pronunciation. In some cases other forms such as those with generalized /-n/, *yourn*, *hisn*, *hern* are to be found, for example in the American Midland region (Montgomery 2001: 150 [5.1.1]). These forms (with a final nasal) also occur in traditional central English dialects (Trudgill 1990: 83–84 [2.1], Upton & Widdowson 1996: 70–71 [2.1]; Wakelin 1984: 79 [2.1]).

**pronouns, reflexive** Analogical formations from possessive pronouns occur widely due to regularization of the reflexive pronoun paradigm, for example *hissself*, *theirselves*. See Miller (1993: 108 [3.1]) on Scottish English and Beal (1993: 206 [2.10]) on Tyneside English. Trudgill (1990: 82–83 [2.1]) discusses the issue in the context of English dialects. Traditional dialects of English may also show the ending *-en* on these pronouns, for example *myssen*, *yoursen*, and so on.

**pronouns, relative** There is a considerable variation with relative pronouns in varieties of English. For instance *as* may be found as a relative pronoun: *This is a boy as loves his mother* (Milroy and Milroy 1999: 70 [1]). Relative clauses may be introduced by *that* in restrictive contexts, for example *The man that you know is outside*, and *what* may also occur as a relative pronoun with an animate referent (in some traditional vernaculars), for example *The man what was buying the farm* as can *which*, for example *The ladies which accompanied him had curly hair* (Beal 1993: 207 [2.10]). Indeed in some varieties of American English (Montgomery 2001 [5.1.1]) and of Irish English *that* seems to function as a generalized relative pronoun. See Martin and Wolfram (1998: 31–32 [5.1.10]) and Tottie and Rey (1997 [5.1.10]) for a discussion of *that* in relative clauses in African American English.



**pronouns, second person plural** Although standard English has lost the distinction between singular and plural for the second person, many varieties maintain this distinction. Generally, vernaculars use *you* for the singular and some further form for the plural, for example *ye*, *yez*, *youse*, *y'all*, *you'uns*. These forms are common in Irish English, Scottish English (Miller 1993: 108 [3.1]) and Tyneside English (Beal 1993: 205 [2.10]). Varieties of English deriving from Atlantic creoles, including Gullah (Turner 1949 [5.1.10.3]) and English Caribbean creoles, often have *unu* (or something similar) which is a plural form from the original West African input (probably Ibo) to the Caribbean (Hickey 2003 [1.6]; Burchfield 1994: 10 [1.5]). The form *y'all* is common in the American South (Butters 2001: 332 [5.1]; Montgomery 2001: 151 [5.1.1]) and – independently – in South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1996 [6.3.1.5]). A usage, ubiquitous in American English and spreading from there, is *you guys* for a group of (usually) younger people, male or female.

Table 19 indicates the distribution of second person pronouns in vernacular varieties of English. With the exception of those conservative dialects of northern English, as well as Orkney and Shetland English, which retain *thou/thee* and *du/dee* and *thu/thoo* respectively, there are no special object forms of second person pronouns (on the position in Scots, see McClure 1994: 69–70 [3.1]). A genitive form may, however, be found as with *y'alls* in South African Indian English.

*Notes* (1) *You* is commonly reduced to [jə], for example in Newcastle (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 66 [2.1]) with *ye* [ji] occurring as a plural form (Beal 1993 [2.10]). (2) *Yous(e)* is an Irish form (deriving from *you* + plural {S}, here /z/) which spread to many colloquial varieties worldwide; *yez* is similar, from *ye* + {S} /z/. (3) *Yins* is a West Central Scots form meaning ‘ones’ and was transported to Western Pennsylvania where the term *yinzers* can be used by people from Pittsburgh for themselves. (4) The community of South-West English ancestry in Newfoundland has a recessive use of *dee*, *‘ee* for the singular; the plural forms can combine with *all*, though not as systematically as in Southern American English (Clarke 2010: 89 [5.2.8]). (5) *Yupela* is just one form, but the most common in Pacific Creole English. It can have an infixed numeral as in *yutupela* when two people are being addressed. See Hickey (2003 [1.6]) for a full discussion.

**Table 19** Second person pronouns in varieties of English.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
English (traditional)	<i>thou, thee</i>	<i>you, ye</i>
Irish English	<i>you</i>	<i>ye, youse, yez</i>
Scottish English	<i>you</i>	<i>yous, yous, yins</i>
Newfoundland English	<i>you (dee ‘ee)</i>	<i>ye, youse, yez</i>
Midlands American English	<i>you</i>	<i>you'uns, y'uns, yinz</i>
Southern American English	<i>you</i>	<i>y'all</i>
African American English	<i>you</i>	<i>y'all</i>
Caribbean English	<i>you</i>	<i>unu, wuna, yina, etc.</i>
South African English	<i>you</i>	<i>youse, y'all</i>
Australian English	<i>you</i>	<i>youse</i>
New Zealand English	<i>you</i>	<i>youse</i>
Pacific Creole English	<i>yu</i>	<i>yupela</i>

**pronouns, vestiges of second person singular** In a few cases, restricted to (northern) England and Orkney and Shetland, the original second person singular pronoun *thou* with the oblique form *thee* is still available. In the West Midlands and the south-west *thee* serves as a nominative form (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 66–67 [2.1]). Passive knowledge of *thou/thee* is present with many speakers from religious contexts.

**pronunciation** A collective reference to the manner in which sounds are articulated in a particular language. Pronunciation is a matter of phonetics rather than phonology, which is concerned with the sound system on a more general or abstract level.

**pronunciation model** A type of pronunciation which is seen as publicly acceptable and worthy of emulation in any region or country. This model may stem from outside the area in question in which case it is EXONORMATIVE; otherwise it is ENDONORMATIVE. See Fabricius (2002 [2.2]), Upton (2008 [2.2], 2012 [2.2]) on RP; Kretzschmar (2004 [5.1.2]), Kretzschmar and Meyer (2012 [5.1]) on Standard American English and the contributions in Hickey (2012b [1.3]) for these and other varieties.

**pronunciation preferences** The use of one pronunciation rather than another in a specific variety. An example is the preferred use of initial stress in *harass* and *harassment* in English English and secondary stress in American English, that is [hə'ræs] and [hə'ræsmənt]. Another example is the preference for /s/ over /ʃ/ in those words where variation is tolerated, for example *appreciate*. The variation can be between voiced and voiceless variants as in *version* [və:ɪʃən], *parse* [pa:ɪs] and *Asia* [eɪʃə] rather than [və:ɪʒən], [pa:ɪz] and [e:ʒə].

**propagation** A stage in language change during which an item of change spreads through a speech community. While ACTUATION and TERMINATION are usually relatively slow, propagation is relatively rapid (S-CURVE). See Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968 [1.2].

**proper name/noun** Any noun which refers to some unique individual or object as opposed to a so-called 'common' noun which refers to an unspecific instance, for example *La Scala* (a proper noun) as opposed to *an opera house* (common noun).

**proscribe** To denounce some structure in language as unacceptable, as incorrect, as bad usage, and so on. This is a feature of prescriptive grammars which attempt to state the manner in which language should be used rather than how it occurs. For instance, such grammars would proscribe the use of focuser *like* as a pragmatic highlighter, for example *Fiona is, like, keen on linguistics*.

**proscriptive** A reference to prescriptive instructions which forbid a certain usage, that is a set of *don'ts* in a language as in 'Do not end a sentence in a preposition'.

**prosody** A term which refers to all the SUPRASEGMENTAL properties of language such as pitch, loudness, tempo or rhythm. Originally, it meant the study of the metrical structure of poetry (Latin *prosodia* 'accent of a syllable' from Greek *prosoidia* 'tone of a syllable').

**prothesis** The deliberate insertion of an unstressed sound at the beginning of a word to conform with the PHONOTACTICS of a language, for example the /e/ in Spanish *escuela* from Latin *scola*. The pronunciation of the letter *z* (in Britain and Ireland) can sometimes show a prothetic schwa: [ə'zɛd].

**prototype** A central instance of a category, for instance smallish birds like sparrows or robins are often regarded as central instances of the category ‘bird’, while large flightless birds like ostriches would be peripheral instances. This view of categories can be applied to language as well, especially where distinctions are not binary, but scalar. For instance, the *after*-perfective of Irish English (see PERFECTIVE, IMMEDIATE) centrally expresses a recent action/event which is unknown to the hearer and hence of high informational value, for example *He’s after crashing the car*. But there are peripheral instances where this does not hold to the same extent, for example *As you know, we’re after having a good summer*. These latter instances do not invalidate the interpretation of the *after*-perfective as essentially about conveying new information about recent actions/events but rather demonstrate the scale along which actual instances can range. See CATEGORICAL RULE.

**proverb** A short and concise expression which articulates some truth or common belief as in *Many hands make light work*. Proverbs often contain archaic words or pronunciation features, for example *To wend one’s weary way* (*wend* is an older word for ‘go’) or *To eat humble pie* from *umble(s)* ‘entrails’ with a hypercorrect /h/ suggesting earlier generalized *h*-dropping.

**proxemics** [prɒk’si:miks] The study of how speakers use relative distance to their partners in conversation. In Western cultures, distances of less than 50 cm usually trigger discomfort among interlocutors, especially those of different genders.

**pseudo-cleft** A type of CLEFT SENTENCE which begins with a *wh*-word followed by a form of *be* and a verbal complement, for example *What Fiona told Fergal was a pure lie. What Fiona is concerned about is the next meeting. Where Fiona was yesterday is not known*. Pseudo-clefts can also occur with other verbs as in *Why Fiona left I don’t know*.

**psych-verbs** A reference to verbs of cognition, such as *know*, *think*, *feel* [to be of the opinion], which express a state rather than an action. Such verbs have certain behavioural characteristics, for example they do not normally occur in the progressive in standard English: *I know French*; *I think it’s rubbish*; *I feel he’s innocent*, but *I’m feeling cold* [sensation]. However, there is some leeway here, for example when a process rather than an opinion is intended; contrast *I think you should leave* with *I’m thinking we might move house soon*.

**Puerto Rico** A large Caribbean island, the easternmost of the Greater Antilles and an unincorporated territory of the United States, 9,104 sq km in size with a population of about 3.7 million. With the defeat of Spain by the United States in 1898 the island came under US control. However, Spanish has remained the majority language although English is a co-official language in Puerto Rico. Emigration to the United States was considerable in the decades after World War II with most Puerto Ricans settling in New York and other locations in the north-east of the United States along with some in Florida.

**pun** A type of joke which gains its effect from a reference to at least two meanings simultaneously, for example *What is the difference between inlaws and outlaws? Outlaws are wanted* (‘sought after by the law’ / ‘desired’); *I couldn’t quite remember how to throw a boomerang, but eventually it came back to me* (‘remember’ / ‘return’). Some puns rely on homophones as in *Seven days without a pun makes one weak*. Others do not work in all varieties, for example *An electrician is a bright spark who knows what’s watt* is only possible when *wh*- and *w*- are both

pronounced [w]; *When a watchmaker is hungry he goes back four seconds* only works when *for* and *four* are pronounced the same.

**punctual *never*** A feature of many traditional varieties of English, for example in the north of England, Scotland and Ireland, in which the temporal adverb *never* has a narrow time reference as in *Fiona never rang yesterday evening*. The usual broader reference can be seen in *His father was never in China* (never in his whole life).

**punctual *whenever*** A use of the iterative adverb in situations which imply a single point in time (Montgomery 1997: 219 [3.3.2]; Montgomery and Kirk 1996 [5.1.10.4]). The feature diffused from Ulster to some forms of English in the Midlands/Midwest region of the United States as a result of eighteenth-century emigration, for example *What was the scene like whenever you arrived?*

**punctuation** A series of marks which supplement the alphabet of a language and which serve additional purposes beyond the representation of sounds. The most common punctuation marks are the *full stop* (English usage) or *period* (American usage) which indicates the end of a sentence and the *comma* which is used to subdivide parts of a sentence, for example non-restrictive relative clauses, or to separate items in an enumeration, for example *Tom, Dick and Harry* (American usage demands the use of the comma before *and* in such instances, whereas British usage does not). A dash can be used for an aside, for example *That inquiry – what a mess – won't get us very far*. Because prosody cannot be indicated with the Latin alphabet, the question mark can signal a question which might be syntactically identical with a declarative sentence, for example *She likes linguistics?* An exclamation mark has a similar function, here for emphasis, for example *She likes linguistics!* Other common punctuation marks are the colon : (to point to and highlight what immediately follows) and the semi-colon ; (to separate parts of a sentence not syntactically connected). Punctuation marks can also just serve a visual function, for example quotation marks (single or double) which show that a stretch of speech is a quotation or to indicate a translation, for example Spanish *manzana* 'apple'. The shape and use of punctuation marks have varied in the history of English and do so across languages depending on specific traditions. See CAPITALIZATION.

**pure vowel** See MONOPHTHONG.

**purism** An attitude to language which demands the preservation of conservative forms which are viewed as 'correct'. A characteristic of purism is its rejection of foreign influences on a language. In England there is no institution which guards the 'purity' of the language but other countries do have such bodies, for example in France the *Académie Française* has attempted to stem the flow of English loanwords into French.

**Purists** (1) A collective term for those English scholars in the sixteenth century who supported availing of the resources present in the language when coining new words rather than borrowing excessively from classical languages (Latin and Greek). A prominent purist of early Tudor times is Sir John Cheke (1514–1557), who practised his ideas in a partial translation of the Gospels. (2) A reference to anyone who maintains prescriptive notions about usage, rejecting language change.

**push-pull chain** A view of language change which sees a causal connection between the shifting of individual elements such that one element ‘pushes’ or ‘pulls’ another into a new position. For instance, the Great Vowel Shift affected the long vowels of late Middle English by either (i) the high vowels /i:/ and /u:/ diphthongizing and pulling the mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ upwards (a pull chain) or (ii) the mid vowels shifting upward causing the top two, /i:/ and /u:/, to diphthongize (a push chain). The combined term ‘push-pull chain’ basically avoids the decision concerning which of the two possibilities was probably the case.

**Putonghua** A term meaning ‘common speech’ and used in China to refer to Standard Chinese, based on Mandarin in the region of Beijing.

# Q

**qualifier** Any element which specifies some other element by rendering its meaning more specific, for example adjectives or numerals as in *an interesting lecture, the fifth man*.

**quality** A reference to the extent to which sounds – mostly vowels – can be distinguished from each other not only in duration but also in acoustic perception, determined by features like tongue position, pharyngeal constriction or lip rounding.

**quantifier** Any term which serves to indicate an amount such as *all, some, a few*, or the set of numerals in a language.

**quantifier, bare** A use of *all* without a qualified element following it as in *He talked to all before making his decision to go. He brought all something for Christmas*. Here ‘all’ is the equivalent of ‘everyone’.

**quantifier floating** A reference to a quantifier which is co-referential with a *wh*-word but which is separated from it by a tensed verb. Such floating is legal in other languages, notably German, cf. *Was habt ihr alles vor?* [what<sub>i</sub> have you-PL all<sub>i</sub> in-front], ‘What things have you got planned?’, but it is supposed not to occur in forms of English. However, McCloskey (2000) maintains that sentences such as the following are legal in west Ulster English (Donegal, Derry City, parts of west Co. Tyrone): *What did you get all for Christmas?, Who did you meet all when you were in Derry?, Where did they go all for their holidays?*

**quantitative linguistics** The use of statistics in linguistics and of measuring techniques in phonetics to underline one’s results, for instance in sociolinguistic investigations. A typical application would be the comparison of the quantitative occurrence of features in a population or in historical texts.

**quantity** A reference to the temporal dimension of sound as with vowels which can be pronounced long or short. Quantity is not absolute but is determined by comparison with other segments in a language or with speech tempo.

**Quebec** The large francophone province in present-day Canada to the east of Ontario, west of Labrador and north of the Maritimes. The name derives from Algonkian meaning ‘place where the river narrows’, a reference to the St Lawrence River on which Quebec city, the capital, lies. The province is 1,541,000 sq km in size with a population of approximately 8.5 million of which about 3.8 million live in the metropolitan area of Montreal, the largest city. Quebec is almost entirely French-speaking with Montreal having significant anglophone populations. The first English speakers to settle in Quebec were British Empire Loyalists who in 1783 founded the Eastern Townships in south-east Montreal. During the nineteenth century, and after Quebec joined the Canadian federation in 1867 as one of its four initial provinces, the French speakers in Canada began to concentrate more and more in this province.

**queer linguistics** A direction in linguistic research which is concerned with language issues surrounding sexual orientation and gender identity. Following on queer studies in literature, the approach in linguistics is intended to be as comprehensive as possible. Some scholars disagree with the use of the re-appropriated term ‘queer’ which can still have negative connotations for heteronormative speakers. See LAVENDER LINGUISTICS and Motschenbacher (2011 [1.1.8]).

**question** A request for information. Usually languages have a particular type of syntax for interrogative sentences, for example in English by inverting the order of subject and verb as (with *have* and *be*) or by using dedicated interrogatives such as forms of the verb *do*. See QUESTIONS, INVERSION IN INDIRECT.

**questionnaire** A means of collecting information in dialect study. This can vary from a request for lexical items (in traditional dialectology) to attitudinal questions in present-day sociolinguistics as in *A Survey of Irish English Usage* (Hickey 2004a [3.3]). Using questionnaires means that individuals are aware that information is being collected and so the OBSERVER'S PARADOX comes into play. Nonetheless, it is possible to collect a large amount of data via this method and a judicious assessment of such data can lead to significant insights.

**questions, inversion in indirect** In embedded contexts standard English uses *whether* to indicate a question and has the order of declarative sentences, for example *She was wondering whether he will come home*. However, some varieties do not use *whether* but maintain the inverted word order of the non-embedded question as in *She asked her son did he clean up*. This type of inversion is typical of Irish English, both northern and southern forms (Hickey 2007b [3.3]). On its occurrence in Scottish and Tyneside English, see Beal (1993: 204 [2.10]). On such structures in American English, see Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2006: 343 [5.1]).

**Quirk, Sir Randolph (1920– )** One of a group of linguists involved in the description of present-day English usage. Born on the Isle of Man, Quirk studied in London where he later held the chair of English language at University College London. He initiated the *Survey of English Usage* in 1959 and engaged other linguists such as Sidney Greenbaum and Geoffrey Leech to collaborate with him in *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (Longman, 1972) and the even more exhaustive *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Longman, 1985).



Quirk also wrote an Old English grammar (with C. L. Wrenn; Methuen, 1955) and several commentaries of aspects of the English language, both historical and contemporary.

**quotative 'like'** A use of the pragmatic marker 'like', together with a form of *be*, to recount something as in *And I'm, like, 'No way will my parents pay for that!'* It is particularly common in young people's speech across the anglophone world and would seem to have originated in American English (Ferrara and Bell 1995 [1.6], Dailey-O'Cain 2000 [1.6], Barbieri 2007 [1.6]). See also Buchstaller & van Alphen (eds, 2012 [1.6]) and Buchstaller (2013 [1.6]).

# R

**R** An open-source, high-level computer language which is particularly suited to processing statistical data and displaying these graphically.

**/r/, ‘bunched’** A realization of /r/ in which the centre of the tongue is bunched. This articulation contrasts with a retroflex [ɻ] in which the tip of the tongue is curled so that its underside faces the alveolar ridge. See Espy-Wilson and Boyce (1994 [1.6]).

**/r/, labio-dental** A realization of /r/ in England as a labio-dental approximant [ʋ], often regarded as a speech defect because it sounds like [w]. It is common in London and the south-east of England and appears to be spreading to other parts of England. See Foulkes & Docherty (2000 [1.6]).

**/r/, linking and intrusive** The use of /r/ to create a transition between two non-high vowels in those varieties in which word-final /r/ does not normally occur. This can be heard in RP and other NON-RHOTIC varieties, for example *far away* [fɑː-rəweɪ], *car owner* [kɑː-rəʊnə], *bear out* [beə-r-aʊt]. If the /r/ occurs in words which historically never had /r/ at the particular position, then it is termed an intrusive /r/, for example *law and order* [lɔː-rən-ɔːdə], *draw up* [dɹɔː-r-ʌp]. Linking *r* occurs after and preceding non-high vowels (see examples just given) which explains why it would not be found in phrases like *three internal ones* [θriː ɪn'tɜːnəl wʌnz], *tee off* [tiː ɒf] or *too intense* [tuː ɪn'tens]. For non-rhotic speakers both linking and intrusive /r/ can be seen as a hiatus resolution mechanism after non-high vowels, that is it prevents a sequence of two such vowels within a single prosodic unit (words spoken without a pause). Rhotic varieties, for example most varieties of American, Canadian, Scottish and Irish English, do not have intrusive /r/. Nor do they have linking /r/ because the /r/ in a phrase like *far away* [fɑːr əweɪ] is always pronounced and not just when immediately followed by a non-high vowel.

**/r/, mid back vowels before** In many conservative varieties, for example Scottish English (McClure 1994: 83 [3.1]), there may be a distinction among mid back vowels before /r/; for example, the words *morning* and *mourning* may not be homophones, yielding [mɔː.ɪŋ] versus [moː.ɪŋ]. Similarly conservative varieties may also retain this distinction, for example eastern New England in the investigation by Kurath (1971: 420 [5.1]); see further Pederson (2001: 268 [5.1.2]). The distinction was also attested further south, in Charleston, South Carolina at the end of the nineteenth century (McDavid 1971 [1955]: 598 [5.1.9]). It is difficult to predict just what lexical items show the higher of the two vowels. There is, however, a preponderance of French loanwords with the higher vowel, for example *force*, *port*, *fort* as opposed to native words such as *north*, *corn*, *born* with the lower vowel (Wells 1982: 160–162 [1]). See HORSE-HOARSE MERGER.

**/r/, realization of** The /r/-sound may be realized in a number of ways both across and within varieties. Realizations are also sensitive to phonetic environment; for instance, in initial, post-stop position, the /r/ may form an affricate-like sound as in *tree*. Loss of /r/ is generally confined to syllable-codas, cf. *rear* /rɪə/ where the second but not the first /r/ has been lost in non-rhotic varieties. Rhotacized schwa across a syllable boundary can be found in some varieties of American English, for example in Philadelphia, cf. [ə'mæɪkə] *America* instead of [ə'mɛɪkə], but not in other rhotic varieties such as Irish or Scottish English. See Wells (1982: 213–218 [1]) and HYPER-RHOTICITY.

**/r/, retroflex** A reference to an /r/-sound spoken with the tip of the tongue curled backwards to behind the alveolar ridge. This is typical of many non-vernacular varieties of American English and of recent Irish English.

**/r/, tensing before** A widespread feature of vernacular English in Ireland, especially in the southern part of the country: the START vowel is raised and lengthened when it occurs immediately before /r/, for example *car* /ka:r/ > [ke:r], *part* /pa:rt/ > [pe:rt] (Hickey 2007b [3.3]).

**/r/, unetymological** See HYPER-RHOTICITY.

**Raffles, Thomas Stamford (1781–1826)** An English colonial figure who in 1819 established the settlement at the end of the Malay peninsula which was later to become Singapore (part of the Straits Settlement established in 1826 on the Malay Peninsula).

**raising** (1) An alteration in the pronunciation of vowels towards a higher starting point. This is a general characteristic of long vowels in the history of English (GREAT VOWEL SHIFT). (2) An assumed process in syntactic derivation whereby a noun in the clausal complement of a small set of verbs can appear as the subject of such verbs, for example *It seems that Fiona is unwell* > *Fiona seems to be unwell* (the 'raising' refers to the movement out of a complement clause to the higher subject position in the sentence). Not all similar verbs have non-raised equivalents, cf. *Fiona tends to be impatient* but not \**It tends that Fiona is impatient*.

**Raj (British)** Lit. 'reign', the period of British rule in India between 1858 and 1947. Direct rule over India by the British government began when the control of the British areas of India passed from the British East India Company to the Crown, represented at that time

by Queen Victoria. The union of local princes in certain states and the British domains came to be known as the Indian Empire and in 1876 Queen Victoria became Empress of India.

**Raleigh, Walter (1554–1618)** An English navigator, who founded the first (unsuccessful) English settlement in America at Roanoke Island in 1585 and claimed the region – Virginia – for the English crown. His name is also written as ‘Ralegh’ (the form preferred by the man himself).

**Ray, John (1627–1705)** English naturalist, whose relevance to language studies is as the author of the *A Collection of English Words not Generally Used with their Significations and Original in two Alphabetical Catalogues* (1674) in which many dialect features of English are recorded for the first time.

**/r/-colouring** A quality of vowels which is achieved by the tongue adopting the position of /r/ (bunching or bending back the tip). The vowels of rhotic varieties of English show *r*-colouring; compare American English /bæ:d/ with English English /bɜ:d/ *bird*.

**real time** A reference to linguistic investigations which are carried out during an actual period of time, for example an examination of English from 1980 to 2000 would be a real-time investigation of late-twentieth-century English. *See* APPARENT TIME.

**realization** The actual pronunciation of a sound. This refers usually to the different ways of pronouncing a phoneme. The term is also used generally to refer to the expression of an abstract linguistic unit.

**reallocation** A situation in which a feature of an input variety gains special status – social or stylistic – at a new location which is not evident at its source. For instance, the metathesis of *ask* to /æks/ was a general feature of many dialects which were transported from Britain and Ireland to North America during the colonial period. However, in African American English this metathesis gained the status of a sociolinguistically significant variable and has been the subject of much comment.

**reanalysis** A process whereby first language learners, in their attempts to recognize the principle behind apparently random variation in their linguistic surroundings, postulate a new principle which is not that of the input. For instance, loans from French in the Middle English period had stress on the penultimate syllable, for example *'convert* : *con'vertir*. This was later reanalysed as a stress pattern which separated nouns from verbs and the latter kept the original pattern although they came to be disyllabic like the nouns they were related to. This pattern was then applied productively to new noun–verb pairs, for example *'redo* : *re'do*; *'rethink* : *re'think*.

**rebus** A representation which depends on a pronunciation similarity between a letter or numeral and a word for which they stand as in 2 4 U ‘two for you’.

**Received Pronunciation** The socially prestigious accent of English in Britain. Its roots lie in the speech of London in the early modern period but it became a sociolect, and hence non-regional, in the course of the nineteenth century and was nurtured and furthered by private

schools, traditional universities, the higher military and clergy and came to be used generally in public life in England. It is spoken by only a small percentage of the British population but has high status and is used as a reference accent, in the descriptions of English pronunciation, for example by Daniel Jones and A. C. Gimson, and is often the variety of English English taught to foreigners. The term ‘Received Pronunciation’ was coined by Daniel Jones at the beginning of the twentieth century and refers to the pronunciation of English which is accepted – that is, ‘received’ – in English society. *BBC English*, *Oxford English*, *Queen’s English* are alternative terms which are not favoured by linguists as they are imprecise or incorrect. See Upton (2008 [2.2], 2012 [2.2]), Cruttenden (2008 [2.2]).

**reconstruction, internal** A process in historical linguistics in which information from within a language is used to gain information about its past. For instance, the alternation *knife* [-f] : *knives* [-vz] suggests that in early English the fricative /f/ was voiced intervocalically. This justifies interpreting the Old English spelling *cnif* : *cnifas* as [kni:f] : [kni:vas]. See COMPARATIVE METHOD.

**recoverability** The process of deriving a full form from a contracted one, for example *don’t* [dəʊnt] > *do not* [du: nɒt], *gonna* > *going to*; *wanna* > *want to*. There comes a stage in a language/variety when the contraction is irrecoverable; for example, Old English *on slepe* cannot now be recovered from *asleep*. This is the case when some generation no longer acquires the uncontracted form.

**reduction** (i) An articulatory process in which a sound is not fully pronounced. Reduction is normal in fast speech but can lead to permanent change if it is carried over into slow speech styles. (ii) A stage in new-dialect formation in which the variation in the emerging dialect is reduced by salient features being dropped. In general it can refer to any situation in which a variety abandons features, see SUPRAREGIONALIZATION.

**reduction of final /o/** See /O:/, REDUCTION OF UNSTRESSED FINAL.

**redundancy** Superfluous information in language as with multiple marking of grammatical categories or inflections where syntactic information allows unambiguous interpretation; for example, *twenty pounds* contains redundant plural marking because the immediately preceding numeral shows that the noun is intended as a plural. Dialects may have less redundancy than a standard variety (as in the example just given). A lack of grammatical redundancy is especially typical of creoles, for example by the absence of a copula, the lack of genitive ’s and the general absence of endings.

**reduplication** A phenomenon in many languages – particularly in pidgins and creoles – whereby an item is repeated, frequently for the purpose of intensification, for example *small small* for ‘tiny’, *big-big*, *vroe-vroe* ‘morning’, lit. ‘early-early’ (Negerhollands) < *vroege* ‘early’.

**reflex** A form in a present-day language which descends directly from an earlier one in the history of the language. For instance, the reflex of Old English *a* /a:/ is normally /əʊ/ in Modern English, cf. Old English *ham* /hɑ:m/, *ac* /ɑ:k/ and Modern English *home* /həʊm/, *oak* /əʊk/. Where *ham* occurred in a compound the vowel was short and was not shifted and

so a form close to the original is retained in many place names, cf. *Wrexham*, *Oldham*, *Nottingham*, and so on.

**reflexive** A type of structure where both subject and object have the same referent, for example *He injured himself*.

**reflexiveness** The possibility of using language to talk about language; this is one of its delimiting characteristics with respect to other systems of communication.

**reflexives, emphatic use of** An unbound/untriggered reflexive may be employed for special discourse purposes as in Irish English *Himself is gone to Dublin*, 'Twas *himself* who answered the phone *that time* where the meaning is something like 'boss', 'head', 'main person'. A similar usage, which is solely emphatic, however, is found for other persons, for example *It's myself that wants it* (Harris 1993: 147 [3.3]).

**reflexives, non-standard** Reflexive pronouns are found in structures where both subject and object have the same referent, for example *He injured himself*. English has an anomaly in that the possessive pronoun + *self/selves* forms the reflexive pronoun in the first and second person, that is *myself*, *yourself*, *ourselves*, but it is the objective form of the personal pronoun + *self/selves* which is used in the third person, that is *himself*, *herself*, *itself*, *themselves*. Many dialects of English have regularized this paradigm and use *hisself* and *theirselves* as reflexive forms.

**refunctionalization** All languages contain at least some afunctional elements (as a left-over from former historical stages, Lass 1990 [1.6]). These elements may come to be refunctionalized, especially in vernaculars. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphatic *do*, as in *I do like linguistics*, was not yet definitely established. In many regions, in the Caribbean, in south-west England and in Ireland (with a possible connection) varieties with the still afunctional *do* of declarative sentences refunctionalized this to express habitual aspect (Hickey 1997 [3.3]) as in *They do be out fishing often* or *She do be over in our place after dark*. The fact that the trade-off with such refunctionalization was minimal, in terms of disruption of syntax, probably facilitated the process.

**regionalism** A pronunciation, grammatical structure, word or phrase which is typical of a certain region and generally confined to it.

**regionalisms in literature** See EDGEWORTH, MARIA (1767–1849).

**register** A style level in language, either written or spoken. In the latter case, register can depend on who one is speaking to or a particular effect which one intends. The mixing of registers is a characteristic of non-native varieties of English because users of these varieties lack the experience of style and word connotations which native speakers have.

**regularization** The alteration of two or more forms in a variety to render their distribution more regular, for example the use of *were* for the entire past of *be*, or the distribution of *was* for positive statements and *were* for negative ones. See VERB *BE*, PAST TENSE REGULARIZATION.

**Reinecke, John (1904–1982)** An American scholar who, after moving to Hawai‘i in 1926, worked on creole languages.

**relative chronology** A chronological order of more than one event which does not give absolute dates but does say which event occurred first, that is it puts the events in a sequence. For instance, it is not possible to say exactly when the long /u:/ in words like *blood*, *flood* shortened to /ʊ/ but this must have occurred before the seventeenth-century unrounding and lowering of early modern English /u/ to /ʌ/, as these words show the latter vowel in present-day English. However, words like *took*, *look* must have shortened /u:/ after the shift from /u/ to /ʌ/ had ceased to be active, as these words show /ʊ/ and not /ʌ/, that is their stem vowel has not been unrounded and lowered.

**relative clause** A type of clause which offers further information in a sentence without this being expressed in a relation of subordination, contrast *Fiona said (that) he was ready* with *Fiona turned off the computer because it was time to go*. Non-restricted or supplementary relative clauses are those that are not an integral part of the sentence, for example *The children, who really like spaghetti, are from Canada*. The use of commas corresponds to a drop in pitch which many speakers show in such cases. Restricted or integrated relative clauses are essential to the sentence as in *The man who waited so long has now left*. Generally, *that* can be used as a relative pronoun in the latter type but not in the former.

**relative pronoun** A linguistic item which is used to introduce a relative clause, for example *that* in English, *che* in Italian, *dass* in German, for instance *Fiona promised that she would not cheat in the exam*. There would seem to be a preference in American English for *that* as an inanimate relative pronoun over *which*, for example *The house that they bought* rather than *The house which they bought*. Traditional dialects may have the interrogative *what* as a relative pronoun (inanimate and animate): *That's the bike what he found; I know farmers what rears sheep*.

**relative pronoun, zero** A reference to the lack of a relative pronoun with a subject antecedent in some dialects of English, for example in the south-east of England, as in *I know a farmer Ø [who] rears sheep* or *There's a man in the hall Ø [who] wants to speak to you*. See Anderwald (2008: 586 [2.7]).

**relexification** The process whereby the vocabulary of a pidgin or creole was replaced almost entirely by that of another language with which the creole-speaking community came into contact. This reputedly happened with early Dutch pidgins in the south Caribbean.

**relic area** A geographical region where particularly conservative features of a language are still to be found, for example the Outer Banks islands off the coast of North Carolina where OCHOCOKE BROGUE is spoken. There is a characteristic topography which goes with dialect survival. Inaccessible, mountainous or isolated coastal regions tend to keep the features which were characteristic of the input varieties longest. Appalachia, the Ozarks in the United States, Newfoundland in Canada, Otago/Southland in New Zealand are examples of this. Indeed there may well be interconnections between such regions, as Christian, Wolfram and Dube (1988: 2 [5.1.8]) postulate for Appalachia and the Ozarks (see the map in Carver 1987: 119 [5.1.2]; he notes, for instance, the occurrence of *poke* ‘bag, small sack’ in the Appalachians



and the Ozarks). The Outer Banks show dialect features not found in mainstream varieties of American English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 5–15 [5.1]). In the Ottawa Valley, to the north-west of Ottawa city, remnants of the speech of nineteenth-century Irish emigrants survived into the twentieth century (Pringle and Padolsky 1981 [5.2.3], 1983 [5.2.3]). Rhoticism – the Southland ‘burr’ – in Otago/Southland in the South Island of New Zealand is a Scotticism and not typical of the rest of the country.

**remedial linguistics** A branch of applied linguistics which is concerned with the removal of SPEECH DISORDERS in affected individuals through specialist phonetic training.

**remnant speech community** A community which lives in a location of geographical remoteness and which is characterized by historical isolation from larger surrounding populations, *see* RELIC AREA.

**restandardization** A process, triggered by external events, by which the standard of a country is adjusted to accommodate new features or previously stigmatized, vernacular features. In South Africa, since the end of apartheid in the early 1990s, aspects of Black South African English – lexical and grammatical features – have lost their stigma and become acceptable in public usage, given the present political position of the black majority in that country. However, the process is not just a switch of variety. For pronunciation it would seem that intermediate forms are developing which converge on a consensus norm of White middle-class native speakers with Black, Coloured and Indian speakers, above all females, accommodating to this (Mesthrie 2010 [6.3.1]). The linguistic changes following on the political changes in South Africa have been researched widely in the last two decades, *see* Wade (1995 [6.3.1]), Van der Walt & Van Rooy (2002 [6.3.1]), de Klerk (2003b [6.3.1.3]), Bowerman (2012 [6.3.1]).

**restricted code** A term coined by the English sociologist Basil Bernstein (1924–2000) for the type of language used by the working classes (in England) and which is taken to be poor in formal characteristics but rich in expressive content.

**restricted language** Any variety of language which does not show the full complement of expressive means possible. This may be because speakers have not been exposed to the variety sufficiently (as with dialect speakers vis-à-vis the standard of a language) or it may be simply that a certain context only requires limited means of expression. If used at all, this term should be a statement of fact and not a judgement. The term is not favoured by linguists.

**restrictive** A reference to a modifying element (a clause, an adjective) which is closely bound to what is modified, for example so-called defining relative clauses in English *The man who spoke yesterday has already left*.

**restructuring** A label for processes in CREOLE formation in which elements of the input pidgin are co-opted to form new structures indicating grammatical categories not necessarily present in the input. An example from African American English would be the use of *bin* (< *been*) with a past participle, for example *She bin married to my brother* ‘She has been married to my brother for a long time’, to indicate something which began in the remote past and continues (this could be interpreted as evidence for a creole origin). Another example would be the East Caribbean creole habitual marker *da* (Holm 1988: 159 [9]) which derives formally from English *does*.

**resumptive pronoun** The use of a personal pronoun to refer to a noun already mentioned, frequently when the latter has been fronted in order to be highlighted, for example *My brother Brian, he's working as a doctor now*. Some languages have such structures regularly, for example Italian as in *La casa nuova, la vedo adesso*, lit. 'The new house, her see-I now' or French as in *Mon frère, il préfère l'anglais*, lit. 'My brother, he prefers English'.

**retention** A reference to the belief that key features in a dialect are derived from historical input and are not due to language contact and are not necessarily independent developments. For instance, some scholars believe that features of Irish English, such as the use of the present for the present perfect of English, as in *I know Fiona for five years now*, result from the varieties of English taken to Ireland and not from the transfer of syntactic patterns from Irish during the language shift period. This feature may be a case of CONVERGENCE where both sources have played a role. See CONTACT.

**retraction** The shift of an articulation further back in the mouth, for example in the shift of /aɪ/ to /ɑɪ/ found in Cockney English, for example *five* [fɑɪv] or the retraction of the TRAP vowel from [æ] to [a] which is a general tendency in English English in recent decades.

**retraction of /a/ after /w/** A change in the early modern period which led to pronunciations like *swan* [swæn] becoming [swɒn] by retraction of the stem vowel. This did not necessarily happen in all traditional dialects, however.

**retroflex** A reference to a sound spoken with the tip of the tongue curled backwards. Retroflexion is a characteristic feature of apical stops and fricatives in the languages of South Asia and is often transferred to the English spoken by people from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

**rheme** That part of a sentence which represents a comment on the THEME. One common means for doing this is to move the focussed element to the front: *Got divorced recently, my youngest brother. Off to Spain the boss is tomorrow*.

**rhetoric** The technique of speaking effectively in public. Regarded in the past as an art and cultivated deliberately. See SHERIDAN, THOMAS and WALKER, JOHN.

**Rhodes, Cecil (1853–1902)** British-born South-African politician and businessman who promoted the development of the north of Southern Africa, the region which later became Southern Rhodesia (> Zimbabwe) and Northern Rhodesia (> Zambia).

**rhotacism** A common kind of phonetic change whereby a voiced sibilant [z] develops into [r]. This is found, for instance, in Germanic (compare English *lose* and German *verlieren*) and in Latin (compare *flos* : *floris* 'flower.NOM' : 'flower.GEN'). As can be seen in English *was* : *were*, rhotacism was an important feature of Germanic verbal morphology because at some points in verbal paradigms an [s] was voiced and this [z] developed further to [r]. In some varieties the *was* ~ *were* variation was regularized much later, see VERB BE, PAST TENSE REGULARIZATION.

**rhotic** A reference to the occurrence of /r/ in syllable codas, for example *bore* /bo:r/. Within the anglophone world there are certain areas in which /r/ in the codas of syllables (in non-prevocalic position) is not pronounced (Wells 1982: 218–222 [1]). In the British

context, the areas which are non-rhotic are the Midlands, the east and the south-east of England (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 30–31 [2.1]). Traditionally, the south-west, parts of the north-west and the far north-east are rhotic areas, though the situation is often blurred by the presence of supraregional, non-rhotic speakers. Within the United States there are a few (recessive) non-rhotic regions, for instance in eastern New England, New York City and the Tidewater South (Fisher 2001: 75–77 [5.1.1]) as well as the speech of African Americans. Otherwise American English shows a retroflex /r/ [ɻ] in syllable-codas, a feature which may have its roots in the many Scots-Irish settlers of the eighteenth century (see the discussion in Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 105–107 [5.1]). In the anglophone Southern Hemisphere, varieties of English are non-rhotic (Wells 1982: 603, 606, 616 [1]), though there may be minor exceptions to this in southern New Zealand and in Afrikaans English. The non-rhotic character of this entire area is due to the fact that the non-rhotic accents of early-to-mid-nineteenth-century settlers from the south-east of England prevailed.

**rhyme** The section of a syllable which consists of the nucleus and the coda, or put the other way around, the syllable without the onset, for example *cleaned* /kl-/ (onset) + /-i:nd/ (rhyme).

**rhyming slang** A prominent feature of Cockney, and some other varieties of English, for example in Scotland, in which two words are used the second of which rhymes with another word which is that which is being referred to, for example *trouble and strife* for *wife*; *dog and bone* for *telephone*; *Adam and Eve* for *believe*; *apples and pears* for *stairs*; *butcher's hook* for *look*; *bread and cheese* for *sneeze*.

**rhythm** The patterns of strong and weak syllables in a language. The rhythm of English is characterized by the FOOT, which consists of a stressed syllable (strong) and all unstressed syllables (weak) up to the next stressed one.

**Richardson, Charles (1775–1865)** Author of *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (London: William Pickering, 1836–1837).

**rising diphthong** See DIPHTHONG, RISING.

**ritual use of language** A situation in which language takes on a function beyond direct interpersonal communication and where rhythmic patterns and incantations have a special significance. This is the case in many religious or quasi-religious uses of language. See GLOSSOLALIA.

**R-less** See NON-RHOTIC.

**R-lowering** /r/ has a general lowering influence on adjacent vowels and it is this which has led to the pronunciation /klɑ:k/ for the word written *clerk* (in English English). Many county names in England are written with *-er* but pronounced with /ɑ:/, for example *Berkshire*, *Derbyshire*, as are some personal names such as *Berkeley* /bɑ:kli/ (American city: /bɜ:kli/). In the phrase *To go to rack and ruin* the word /ræk/ has such a lowered vowel, cf. the present-day form *wreck*. See SERVE-LOWERING.

**Roanoke Island** An island off the coast of North Carolina which was the location of an early attempt at settlement by the British under Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1580s. Often called

'The Lost Colony' because the initial settlers disappeared without trace, perhaps because they abandoned it or perhaps due to attacks by the native Algonquian people in the region. The island is also where Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents in America, was born and whose surname is reflected in Dare Country in which Roanoke Island is located.

**Roget** [rəʊ'zeɪ], **Peter Mark** (1779–1869) English physician and lexicographer. Born in London, the son of a Swiss Calvinist pastor. He studied medicine at Edinburgh and was active in this sphere in Manchester and London. His *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* (1852), later edited by his son and by his grandson, is a standard reference work to this day and represents his claim to linguistic fame. See Hüllen (2009 [1.3.6]).

**Romani** [rəʊmæni] The term 'Romani' refers to dialects of an Indo-Iranian language spoken by the Roma (from *rom* 'man'), a people who probably originated in north-west India and who began a period of migration, maybe as early as 100 CE towards the West. This took them first to Iran, later into Asia Minor and via Armenia to southern Russia. Some moved through present-day Turkey into the Balkans where they established a foothold and are represented in significant numbers to this day. Part of the Balkan group continued further into Central and Western Europe so that Roma are to be found in virtually every country of the continent today. The dissemination throughout Europe was probably complete by the sixteenth century. The Roma have always had a peripheral position in the countries they moved to and the degree of assimilation to the local population, linguistic and cultural, has varied.

Anglo-Romani is reputedly spoken by several thousand people in England and Wales (it is difficult to be accurate as the community is scattered and not accessible to non-Romani). Some words have been adopted into English, notably *pal* 'friend'. Romani dialects are not generally available in written form. The term 'gypsies' (French *gitanes*, German *Zigeuner*) does not stem from the Roma themselves but was given to them by West Europeans in the false belief that they stemmed from Egypt.

**root** (1) In grammar, the unalterable core of a word to which all suffixes are added, for example *friend* in *un-friend-li-ness*. (2) In etymology, the earliest form of a word. (3) In phonetics, the lowest part of the tongue in the centre-back of the mouth.

**rounded** A feature of many vowels (and secondarily of some consonants such as [ʃ]) in which the articulation is accompanied by lip rounding. In English, back vowels are rounded /ɔ:, u:, ʊ/ and front vowels /æ, e, ɪ, i:/ are unrounded.

**RP** See RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION.

**rule** A formulation of a regular process in a language and/or the internalized knowledge of this process (from early language acquisition). For instance, the rule for forming an adverb from an adjective consists of adding *-ly* to the latter as in *quick* > *quickly*. Rules are not watertight, for example *friendly* is an adjective although it ends in *-ly*, because most processes in languages are regular with a small number of exceptions. This may be the residue of an historical process which was not carried through to completion or may be due to the fact that a form does not match the input necessary for a rule, cf. *friendly* above, which cannot take the adverbial ending *-li/-*. Because native speakers do not experience difficulty in mastering exceptions there is rarely a 'clean-up' operation in a language to remove exceptions. Exceptions can attain sociolinguistic

significance if they become indicative of a certain variety, for example the irregular distribution of long /ɑ:/ in RP, contrast *bland* /blænd/ and *blast* /blɑ:st/. This type of situation can lead to HYPERCORRECTION with speakers saying /plɑ:stɪk/ for *plastic* /plæstɪk/, for instance.

**Rural South** A reference to the non-urban areas of the Southern United States (geographically the south-east of the country). Due to contact over the past few centuries varieties spoken by Whites and Blacks show considerable affinity (Thomas 2008 [5.1.9]).

**R-Vowel-metathesis** A common type of metathesis in the history of English which has been indicated in writing, for example *purty* for *pretty* (still found in Appalachian English), *gurt* for *great*. There are many cases where the vowel is short and the syllable unstressed, for example *modern* [mɒd.ən], *pattern* [pæt.ən] (still found in Irish English).

# S

**Sabir** [sə'birə] The original Portuguese pidgin (< *sabir* 'to know') which is assumed by some linguists to be the input to all later pidgins through dissemination from its original location on the West and North-West coast of Africa (MONOGENESIS theory). Sabir itself is taken to be related to, if not in fact derived from, the medieval lingua franca used in the Mediterranean area from at least the time of the crusades (approximately 1100–1300).

**Salem witch trials** The court petitions and depositions of the infamous trials in Massachusetts, New England in 1692 and 1693 which have been analysed linguistically as examples of early American English, see Rosenthal *et al.* (2009 [5.1.3]).

**salient** The extent to which a sound is clearly perceived or a grammatical structure is prominent. Certain salient sounds – like [s] – tend to be preferred in morphology and to be selected in language change over other less prominent sounds such as [θ] (as a third person singular present-tense ending in English). With [s] the friction is concentrated at a higher frequency and is hence more clearly audible than with [θ]. Salience may also arise through the use of a feature in a community. For instance, punctual *never* in Irish English is non-salient and never the object of prescriptive comment whereas habitual *do* is salient and condemned because it is restricted to vernacular varieties, contrast *He never came (yesterday evening)* with *He does be playing football a lot*.

**Samaná Peninsula** See DIASPORA VARIETY.

**Samoa** A Polynesian island nation in the South/South-West Pacific, formerly Western Samoa, consisting of the western Samoan islands, the remainder forming American Samoa. The country has an area of 2,800 sq km and a population of approximately 180,000; the two main islands are Savai'i and Upolu with the capital Apia located on the latter. Samoa was the site of rivalry for colonial control by the Germans, British and Americans at the end of the

nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries with the partitioning of the islands as a result. New Zealand took over control of Samoa after World War I when Germany lost the colony. (Western) Samoa gained its independence from New Zealand in 1962. The main languages are Samoan and English. *See* SAMOA, AMERICAN.

**Samoa, American** An unincorporated territory of the United States located in the South/South-West Pacific (to the east of Samoa) with an area of 198 sq km and a population of about 56,000. It owes its present political status to the partitioning of the Samoan Islands, *see* SAMOA.

**San Andrés y Providencia** In 1631 a group of British Puritans settled on the island of Providence some 250 km off the east coast of present-day Nicaragua. In 1641 the Spanish destroyed the colony. Together with San Andrés the island now forms a department of Colombia. On the two islands, which have a size of 112 sq km and a population of about 60,000, a creole form of English is still spoken. Central American Creole English is spoken by the majority of the population of San Andrés Island. *See* Bartens (2012 [9]).

**sandhi** A phonetic change which occurs across word boundaries, for example the assimilation to be seen in *going to* > *gonna* or *want to* > *wanna*. It takes its name from Sanskrit where the phenomenon was common.

**Sandwich Islands** *See* HAWAII.

**Sapir–Whorf hypothesis** The notion that thought is determined by language. The label combines the names of two scholars, Edward Sapir (1884–1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941). While few linguists nowadays accept this strict link, there would seem to be some truth to the views of the two American scholars.

**Saramaccan** A creole spoken by about 25,000 people in inland present-day Suriname. Many of these are so-called ‘bush negroes’ and fall into two groups, the Saramaccans and the Matuari. These are the descendants of runaway slaves who were taken to Suriname to work on the plantations (so-called Maroons), probably already in the late seventeenth century. The question of what language functioned as lexifier is difficult to determine here, as it is with SRANAN. English played a significant role as did Portuguese, transmitted by Brazilians who were in contact with the Maroons. The role of English during the formative period of Saramaccan is considered to have been slighter than in the case of Sranan. Sranan and Saramaccan are somewhat similar – both are analytic languages with few grammatical inflections – but they are by no means the same. Saramaccan has a complex phonology with the compound plosives /kp/ and /gb/, reflecting the background languages of the African slaves. It is unique among pidgins and creoles in having phonemic tone.

**Saussure, Ferdinand de (1857–1913)** Swiss-French linguist. The founder of structuralism in linguistics, the dominant paradigm for the first half of the twentieth century. Saussure started his career in Leipzig with a brilliant contribution to Indo-European theoretical phonology which was actually confirmed in the 1920s after the discovery and deciphering of Hittite. For the latter part of his professional life he was professor of linguistics in Geneva and his lectures became the basis for the book *Cours de Linguistique Générale* ‘Course in General



Linguistics' (published posthumously by Saussure's pupils in 1916) which introduced all the key notions of structural linguistics, usually as pairs of concepts such as *langue/parole*, *signifier/signified*, *paradigm/syntagm*, *diachronic/synchronic*.

**scalar feature** Those features of a variety which show a range of values on a scale, that is which are not binary. Vowels adopt typically scalar values, for example the amount of GOOSE-FRONTING which might occur in a variety is a matter of more or less (scalar) rather than yes or no (binary). Another instance would be MOUTH-fronting: the onset of the diphthong can range along a scale which reaches from central [a] to mid-front [e], that is [au], [æu], [eu], [eu]. With scalar features speakers can choose a value on a continuum to represent the realization they wish to achieve. This can also be true for consonants, though not to the same degree as with vowels. Scalar consonantal features would include R-retroflexion (the degree to which speakers curl the tip of the tongue back behind the alveolar ridge) and T-frication (the degree of weakening of /t/ from a fricative to a glottal stop or /h/ or zero).

**Schuchardt** ['ʃu:xart], **Hugo (1842–1927)** German linguist who was opposed to Neogrammarian views on language change and who criticized scholars' ignorance of languages without a long cultural history (see NEOGRAMMARIAN HYPOTHESIS and Schuchardt's *Über die Lautgesetze. Gegen die Junggrammatiker* 'On sound laws. Against the Neogrammarians'). In later dialect studies (for example in the *SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS*) the type of word geography instituted by Schuchardt was implemented.

**schwa/shwa** [ʃwa] A vowel which is articulated as a short central neutral vowel transcribed as [ə] in the IPA; the name stems from Hebrew. In English it occurs for unstressed short vowels at the beginning or end of a word, for example *about* [ə'baʊt], *butter* ['bʌtə].

**Scotland** A constituent part of the United Kingdom, in the north of Britain, with an independent legal and educational system and after the Scotland Act of 1998 its own parliament as part of the devolved system of government. Scotland has an area of 78,000 sq km and a population of approximately 5.3 million. The capital is Edinburgh in the east while Glasgow in the west is the largest city. Most of the population lives in the Central Belt, the broad region between the two major cities. South of this is the Borders area immediately north of the border with England. North of the Central Belt are the mountainous Highlands which are often linked with the western Islands in contrast to the Lowlands further south. ORKNEY and Shetland are two groups of islands in the far north and dialectally separate from mainland Scotland. English is the de facto official language with SCOTTISH GAELIC and SCOTS two further languages with a long history in Scotland; there are also many other languages in present-day Scotland due to recent immigration just as in England.

The label *Scotland* is connected with Latin *Scotii* which was originally a term for the Irish, who settled the western coast of Scotland and Christianized it before England was converted from the south in the seventh century CE. Scotland has an English tradition which goes back to eighth-century Anglian which spread up from the south during the Old English period. This yielded Scots in the area of present-day south-central Scotland. The historical advance of English in Scotland was at the cost of Gaelic which was pushed back out of the Lowlands into the Highlands north of the Firth of Forth and into the south-west where it survived into the eighteenth century. A further language, Norn, derived from Old Norse, was spoken on the Orkney and Shetland islands and to a lesser extent on the adjacent mainland; it finally disappeared in the

eighteenth century. Distinctive urban varieties are found in major cities, above all Glasgow and Edinburgh. The term 'Scottish Standard English' covers supraregional varieties which are closest to southern English English. The features listed below apply to strongly vernacular varieties.

**Phonology** (1) The GOOSE vowel may be monophthongal, not distinctively long and generally fronted to a mid high position, for example *soon* /sun/ [sʊn]. (2) The STRUT vowel is normally lowered and unrounded, for example *cut* [cʌt] but the members of this set need not always be the same as those in southern English English. (3) There is a tendency for short front vowels to be lowered, for example *bit* [bet], *sick* [sek]; this includes the final vowel in HAPPY: [hæp] (western Central Belt, otherwise more raised). (4) A distinction between /æ/ and /ɑ:/ is not usual, with a central /ɑ/ the more common realization of both the TRAP and the BATH vowels (length depends on the SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE). (5) Glottalization of /t/ is frequent, especially in final position, for example *that* [ðɑʔ]. (6) /θ/ has a common realization prevocally as [h] as in *think* [hɪŋk]; intervocally /ð/ appears as a tap [ɾ], for example in *brother*, *mother*, in Glasgow vernacular varieties. (7) /r/ is often slightly retroflex and close to a fricative; it may be devoiced in final position and occasionally rolled, especially in emphatic contexts. (8) /l/ is usually velarized in syllable codas. (9) A lack of vowel length contrasts is common so that words like *full* and *fool* may be homophones (see SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE). (10) The *wh* sound [ʍ] still distinguishes words like *which* and *witch*. (11) /e/ corresponds to English /o:/ in words like *home*, *ghost* (Old English /ɑ:/ was fronted and raised in Scotland). (12) There is a distinction between front and back short vowels before /r/ as in *germ* /dʒɛrm/ and *burn* /bɜrn/ and also a further distinction among pre-rhotic short front vowels so that *fern* and *fir* have different vowels (except in Edinburgh). (9) The inherited sound /x/ is found in traditional varieties (closer to Scots) and in many place names and family names where speakers of Scottish Standard English may also have the fricative, though this is recessive, for example *Murdoch* [mɑrdɔx] / [mɑrdɔk]. The absence of Old English palatalization of /k, g/ has meant that there is a /k, g/ – /tʃ, dʒ/ contrast in word pairs like *kirk* and *church*, *rigg* and *ridge*.

**Morphology** (1) Differences in the distribution of regular and irregular verbs, for example *sellt* 'sold', *tellt* 'told', *writ* 'wrote'. (2) Old nasal plurals are still found, for example *een* 'eyes', *shin* 'shoes'. (3) *Yous* or *yous yins* occur as second personal pronouns. (4) The clitic *-na/-nae* corresponds to *not*, for example *She cannae* (= *cannot*) *leave now*. *He isnae* (= *isn't*) *at home*. (Miller 2008 [3.1]).

**Grammar** (1) Modal *will* tends to stand for both *shall* and *may*. (2) The passive is often formed with *get*. *I got told off* and *get* expresses necessity in sentences like *You've got to speak to her*. (3) Epistemic *must* is used positively and negatively: *She must not be Scottish* (= *She can't be Scottish*). (4) Future negation is formed with independent *not* rather than the clitic form of a modal and *not*: *She'll not go home* (= *She won't go home*). (5) Singular verbs occur with plural nouns, for example *My glasses is broken*. (6) Singular nouns occur after measure words, for example *Twenty pound*, *Ten mile away*.

**Lexis** There are borrowings from Gaelic, *loch* 'lake', *sonsy* 'healthily attractive' and Old Norse, *bairn* 'child', as well as many Scottish usages such as *outwith* 'outside', *pinkie* 'little finger'. The major lexicographical works are (1) *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* from the twelfth to the end of the seventeenth century, (2) *The Scottish National Dictionary* (from 1700 to the present day). *The Concise Scots Dictionary* is an abridged work with material from the first two dictionaries. There is an online version of (1) and (2), see *DICTIONARY OF THE SCOTS LANGUAGE*. A major survey of Scots is *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (resulting from the former research project 'The Linguistic Survey of Scotland' located at the University of Edinburgh); it consists of two volumes on lexis and one on phonology.

**Scots** According to some scholars Scots is an independent language. It developed out of northern Old English dialects (Anglian) which were carried to Lowland Scotland in the late Old English period. Scots flourished throughout the Middle Ages and most of the early modern period. It has survived since in Scotland alongside SCOTTISH GAELIC and SCOTTISH STANDARD ENGLISH as a cline of varieties which range from most basilectal to forms which approximate to supraregional English in Scotland (Stuart-Smith 2008: 48–53 [3.1]). ‘Guid’, that is ‘good’, Scots, is regarded as pure, based on traditional and rural forms, and strived after by many who identify it and seek to further its use in contemporary Scotland. Scots was transported to ULSTER at the beginning of the seventeenth century with the intensive plantation of that province. It was also carried to America by eighteenth-century Scottish and Ulster emigrants, *see* SCOTS-IRISH. Urban forms of Scots are also found, for example in Glasgow (Macafee 1993 [3.1.3], 1994 [3.1.3]); *see also* Stuart-Smith (2003 [3.1.1]).

**Scots-Irish (also Scotch-Irish)** A reference in the United States to the settlers from Scotland and/or Ulster who moved to North America in large numbers (about a quarter of a million) in the eighteenth century. This movement of Ulster Scots across the Atlantic led to the rise of APPALACHIAN ENGLISH. The Appalachians, which cover parts of Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and both the Virginias, are relatively isolated and hence APPALACHIAN ENGLISH has kept a clear linguistic profile, largely unaffected by other forms of English in the United States.

***Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech (SCOTS Project)*** This is an ongoing project to build a corpus of modern-day written and spoken texts in Scots and Scottish English. It went online in 2004 and reached more than 4 million words by 2007. SCOTS aims to cover the period from 1945 to the present day (the latest documents in the corpus currently date from 2007). Owing to text availability, however, the majority of texts are from the latter part of this period. In particular, most of the spoken texts were recorded since 2000, specifically for the SCOTS project.

**Scottish Gaelic** A Q-Celtic language deriving from Old Irish taken to Scotland in the early Christian period during the first millennium CE. Scottish Gaelic had developed into a separate language by the late Middle Ages and became standardized in the early modern period, above all with the bible translation of 1801. Speaker numbers have declined steadily throughout the twentieth century. The number of native speakers is difficult to ascertain but the figure is likely to be less than 50,000.

***Scottish National Dictionary (SND)*** A 10-volume lexicographical work produced under the supervision first of William Grant and later David Murison (after the former’s death in 1946) between 1931 and 1975 and published in Edinburgh. The dictionary was intended as a follow-up to the *Dictionary of the Old Scottish Tongue* and covered the period from 1700 to the 1970s. A digitized version was prepared in the early 2000s at the University of Dundee and made available online on the platform *DICTIONARY OF THE SCOTS LANGUAGE* at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/> which also includes the digitized version of the *DICTIONARY OF THE OLDER SCOTTISH TONGUE*.

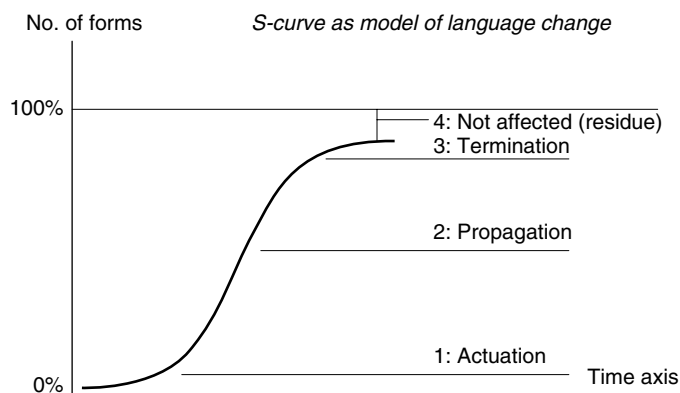
**Scottish Standard English** A label for supraregional forms of English spoken in Scotland. It retains some characteristics of more vernacular forms such as non-prevocalic /r/ and monophthongs in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets, *see* Abercrombie (1979 [3.1]) and

Corbett & Stuart-Smith (2012 [3.1]). There is recent evidence that non-rhoticity is spreading in non-vernacular varieties of Scottish English in the urban areas of the Central Belt.

**Scottish Vowel Length Rule** A feature of Scots, and by extension of Ulster Scots, whereby the length of a vowel is derived from the nature of the following consonant. The rule specifies that in stressed syllables all vowels before /r, v, ð, z, ʒ/, before another vowel and before a morpheme boundary are long. In other environments the vowels are generally short. Diphthongs also vary in their quality according to the rule, for example *sight* has a raised onset while *size* has a lowered and lengthened one. It is sometimes called *Aitken's Law* in honour of the Scottish linguist A. J. AITKEN who was the first to describe the rule systematically.

**Scouse** The city dialect of Liverpool which in its vernacular form has a range of features which sets it off from other urban varieties in England, especially local forms spoken by working-class people with a Catholic background (Knowles 1978: 89 [2.3]). (1) The LENITION of voiceless stops, /k/ *back* [bax], /t/ *cut* [kʊt], /p/ *cup* [kʊp] in post-stress, weakening environments (Wells 1982: 371–372 [1]). (2) TH-stopping, especially in syllable-initial position, that is /θ, ð/ > /t, d/, for example *thigh* [t̪aɪ], *this* [d̪ɪs]; *booth* [bu:t̪]. (3) The merger of *pair* and *purrr* as /e:/ or /ɜ:/ . (4) The realization of final <ng> as [ŋg] as in *song* [sɒŋg]. (5) A long /i:/ before nasals, for example *pin* /pi:n/. (6) An alveolar tap [ɾ] for intervocalic /r/ as in *matter* /mæt̪ə/. (7) TH-fronting, an in-coming feature, is also found, for example *think* [fɪŋk]. See Honeybone (2007 [2.10.1]), Watson (2007 [2.10.1]).

**S-curve** A graph drawn in the form of an elongated S which illustrates the course of language change (see Figure 4). An S-curve is characterized by a slow beginning, a quick middle phase and again a slow final phase. S-curves may also show that a change is not carried to completion, that is the slowing down of the end phase may mean that not all possible inputs for a change are in fact affected. For instance, the shift of /ʊ/ to /ʌ/ in Early Modern English did not go to completion as words like *pull*, *bush*, *butcher* show. The words which are missed out by a change may show some common characteristic, in this case a ‘rounded’ phonetic environment which probably inhibited the shift to the unrounded /ʌ/ vowel.



**Figure 4** S-curve showing course of language change.

**Sea Islands Creole** See GULLAH.

**Searle, John (1932– )** American philosopher and linguist working at the University of Berkeley. Searle is concerned with further developing ideas of the ordinary language philosopher John Langshaw AUSTIN. In his book *Speech Acts* (Cambridge University Press, 1969), and later in *Expression and Meaning* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), Searle expanded considerably on Austin's statements in *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford University Press, 1962).

**seasonal migration** A practice whereby people went to an overseas location for a certain time of the year, returning for the rest to their base in the British Isles. Such migration is attested in NEWFOUNDLAND where fishermen from the south-west of England and the south-east of Ireland went for the summer months, returning home for the winter. Permanent settlement occurred later, leading to the population of Newfoundland.

**second language** Any language learned after one's native language. This is usually learned imperfectly, especially if one begins after puberty. See BILINGUALISM.

**secondary articulation** A second and relatively less important component of an articulation; the velarization of /l/ (> [ɫ]) in syllable-codas in many varieties of English is an example of secondary articulation, that is it is an additional aspect of lateral articulation and need not be present.

**second-language English** A reference to English used by speakers who have a native language other than English but who nonetheless – because of the structure of the societies they live in – acquire English well and use it in many situations of their public and private lives. In such instances, knowledge of English stems almost exclusively from exposure to the language in schooling and in exchanges with others who have a better knowledge of English.

**second-language teaching** The main area of applied linguistics. There are many views on how a second language is *learned*, above all in comparison with the high degree of competence achieved in first language *acquisition*. Research here tends to concentrate on developing models to explain the process and to improve methods, and hence results, in language teaching.

**segment** A unit of speech which is identifiably separate from others. It contrasts with the term *suprasegmental* which refers to those aspects of phonetic structure above the level of individual sounds, e.g. intonation.

**segmental phonology** The analysis of sound structure into discrete units without reference to intonation or rhythm (see PROSODY).

**semantic bleaching** A process whereby the lexical meaning of a word is continuously eroded. It is a pre-stage to cliticization and can ultimately lead to the rise of synthetic structures in a language. An example would be *not* from *ne wilt* 'no person' which lost its lexical meaning but gained grammatical meaning in the process. See GRAMMATICALIZATION.

**semantic change** A reference to shifts in word usage. This is a natural process in all languages and results in the application of a word in contexts in which it was not previously

found. For instance, it is now common in English to use *joy* in the sense of ‘success’, for example *Fergal got no joy out of the insurance company*, or to replace *pupils* by *students* as the default term for learners at school and not just university. The latter example illustrates the tendency for the expansion of one word to result in the contraction of another as its ‘semantic space’ is taken over by the first term.

**semantic field** A collective term for sets of meanings which are taken to belong together conceptually, for example colour, furniture, food, clothes. Most of the vocabulary of any language is organized into such fields, that is there are few if any words which are semantically isolated.

**semantic inversion** A process in which the meaning of a word is turned around, for example *bad* and *mean* in African American English (and from there into other colloquial varieties). In these cases a previously negative meaning is supplemented, sometimes replaced, by a positive one, cf. *mean machine* ‘excellent sports team’.

**semantics** The study of meaning in language. This is an independent level and has several subtypes, such as word, grammatical, sentence and utterance meaning.

**semiproductive affixes** An ending, more rarely a prefix, which can be used on a small set of words to convey a certain meaning, for example *-let* as in *starlet* ‘minor star’, *flatlet* ‘small flat’.

**semi-vowel** Any sound which is intermediary between a consonant and a vowel, for example [j], as in *yes, year*, or [w] as in *want, wear*. Also called a glide.

**sense relations** The semantic relationships which obtain between words as opposed to those which hold between words and the outside world.

**sentence** The basic unit of syntax. Structurally, a sentence consists at least of a subject and a verb, possibly with one or two objects and perhaps one or more complements. Sentences may contain a relative or subordinate clause and may be concatenated with other sentences.

**serialization** A phenomenon which is common in pidgins and creoles where a number of verbs are chained together to render a composite meaning, for example something like *He go take rice home* for ‘He brought the rice home’.

**SERVE-lowering** A reference to the lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ which is widely attested in the history of English. In some cases there has been an orthographic adjustment so that the instances, like *barn* (< ME *bern*), *dark* (< ME *derk*), *barken* (< ME *herken*) or *marsh* (< ME *mersh*) are no longer obvious. Examples from the SALEM WITCH TRIAL documents are *marcy, sarve, sarch, sarvant*, pronunciations which are not widespread, though they are listed in the *DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN REGIONAL ENGLISH (DARE)* (Cassidy, ed., 1985–1991– 1996 [5.1.2]). In England such lowering is obvious from county names, such as *Derbyshire, Berkshire, Hertfordshire* (Ekwall 1975: 27 [1.5]). With common nouns, those instances which were not adjusted in spelling have been reversed, with the exception of *clerk* /klɑ:k/ (Lass 1987: 277 [1.5]). In standard English the distinction between the dialect pronunciation and the



later standardized one is exploited lexically in the word pair *parson* : *person*. Dialects in England retain this lowering in conservative pronunciations to the present day, for example in East Anglia, cf. *har* (= *her*), *garl* (= *girl*), and so on (Trudgill 2001: 37 [2.6], 2008a: 183 [2.6]). Historically, there is evidence of a much wider distribution of the lowering before /r/, for example in the south-west (Wakelin 1988: 628 [2.9]). There are a few cases of this lowering in standard English where the original and the lowered form are found, for example *thresh* and *thrash*; *wreck* and *rack* in the phrase *to rack and ruin* (in the latter case the lowering is after /r/). SERVE-lowering in Irish English has disappeared entirely although it used to be very widespread (Hickey 2008 [3.3]).

**settlement patterns** The development of English at overseas locations depended on the speakers emigrating and the kinds of English they transported. The nature of the conditions at the new locations also played an essential role. The former colonies differ greatly in their size, climate, topography, economy and demography and these are factors which determined the characteristics of new forms of English there. Early settlement overseas was naturally in coastal areas. In general these regions show the most conservative type of English. This is as true of the east of Ireland as it is of the Atlantic coast of the United States and Canada. The further history of English at new locations is determined by migration routes taken. In the United States there was initially a general movement down along the Atlantic coast and somewhat inland with a fan-like spread into the interior beyond the Appalachians (Carver 1987: 176 [5.1.2]) with a later movement across from the east coast to the region of the Great Lakes (Carver 1987: 55 [5.1.2]). With the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1806) a mid-west to northern route to the Pacific was established opening up the west to white settlement in the nineteenth century. In Canada, given the geography of the country, the position was different. The early settlement of Newfoundland by Irish and West Country immigrants and that of Nova Scotia did not lead to a comparable diffusion into the interior. Instead later immigration occurred through the ports in the St. Lawrence estuary and from there into south-central Canada. In South Africa the topography allowed for a much more evenly distributed pattern of early settlement by British immigrants in the Western and Eastern Cape. These settlers carried more vernacular varieties of English (Lanham 1996: 20–22 [6.3.1]) whereas the later settlement of the Natal in the Durban area after 1848 was characterized by an increasing standardness of the imported varieties (de Klerk, ed., 1996: 10 [6.3.1], Lass 1987: 302 [1.5]). The north of South Africa and other interior parts of southern Africa were explored and settled later in the nineteenth century (Bekker 2012 [6.3.1]) as were regions of West and East Africa. For Australia the area of initial white settlement was the south-east of the country (present-day New South Wales) with the west around Perth and the north following later. In New Zealand organized settlement after the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was fairly evenly distributed across the two islands.

**settler English** Varieties of English spoken by people whose ancestors were originally settlers from England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland and who were native speakers of English. Settler English is typically spoken by the British- or Irish-background populations of the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand along with some smaller locations like the Falkland Islands. Settler English is very rare in Asia or Africa (north of southern Africa).

**sexism in language** The discrimination of one gender, essentially of women, in the use of language. Sexism can be inherent in a language, for instance by preferring masculine forms as



default (GENERIC usage) as in pronominal reference *The linguist must gather data and be careful that he organizes it properly*. There have been many attempts to remedy this situation, such as using *he/she*, *s/he* or simply using *she* (though this just inverts the bias). Another means is the use of the plural, even with a singular antecedent, for example *Someone got the top job as expected, didn't they? Does that French student need help with their English?* Sexism can also be individual, for example when someone makes a deliberate choice to use offensive language of a sexist nature.

**Seychelles** An island nation in the Indian Ocean, north of Madagascar with an area of 450 sq km and a population of about 85,000. In 1756 the French formally took possession of the islands but this was later contested by the British with them gaining full control here and in MAURITIUS in 1810. The Seychelles gained their independence from the United Kingdom in 1968. Both English and French are official languages along with the French-lexifier Seychellois Creole which gained official status after independence. Seychellois Creole is promoted in education, the media and other public domains and is spoken by more than 90 per cent of the native population.

**Shakespearean English** This term is used in at least three senses: (1) to refer to the language of the writer William Shakespeare (1564–1616) as manifested in his plays and poems; (2) to refer in a loose sense to English as spoken in southern England in the late sixteenth century. The latter usage is problematical because Shakespeare was from the west of England and his highly individual use of English grammar and vocabulary means that the language of his plays is probably not representative of English in the London of his time. (3) The third sense of this term is found in parts of the anglophone world, as far apart as Ireland and Appalachia, where conservative varieties of English are spoken and where the value of these is supposedly augmented by referring to them as '(pure) Shakespearean English'. See Montgomery (1998 [5.1.8]), Schneider (2003 [5.1.9]).

**shall and will** See MODALS SHALL AND WILL.

**shared innovation** Any feature or group of features in at least two languages or varieties which are regarded as having been triggered by the same historical input, although the features in question may not be evident in the latter anymore, for example short vowel raising in Southern Hemisphere Englishes. See INDEPENDENT PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT.

**Shaw, George Bernard (1856–1950)** Irish playwright and critic. Shaw showed an awareness of language in all his plays. In one, *Pygmalion* (1913), he incorporated many linguistic elements in the character of Professor Higgins (probably based on Henry Sweet) and the Cockney figure of Eliza Doolittle. He was also interested in questions of spelling reform and actually bequeathed some of his considerable estate to this cause. Shaw's ideas, however amusing, were linguistically naive.

**Shelta** An argot supposedly used by travellers in Ireland (and to some extent in Britain). It is largely derived from Irish and English with much systematic alteration of words from both languages to ensure its incomprehensibility to outsiders, for example by employing metathesis as in *gop* from Irish *póg* 'kiss'. It is difficult to determine to what extent Shelta was used, or might be used today. The English word *bloke* 'fellow' is from Shelta.

**Sheng** A portmanteau of ‘Swahili’ and ‘English’ referring to the jargon which arose among poorer urban youth in Nairobi in the 1970s from a mixture of Swahili and English. It spread quickly outside the capital Kenya, even to parts of neighbouring Uganda and Tanzania.

**Sheridan, Thomas (1719–1788)** Irish writer, born in Dublin and educated in London and Dublin. He was first an actor and later a self-appointed travelling expert on language matters. Sheridan is best known for his efforts in the field of ELOCUTION, producing *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language* (1788) and a *General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780) in which he gave guidelines for the ‘correct’ use of English. He was also the father of the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816).

**shibboleth** A linguistic item which serves the function of identifying a speaker as belonging to one community and not another. The term stems from the Book of Judges (12: 5–6) in the Old Testament which recounts how Jephthah and the Gileadites defeated the Ephraimites at the banks of the Jordan. The Gileadites managed to cross the river before the Ephraimites. To check whether those behind them were actually from their group they asked each person to pronounce the word *shibboleth* (which meant either ‘stream in flood’ or ‘ear of corn’). Those who pronounced it as *sibboleth*, that is with [s] and not [ʃ], were not Gileadites, regarded as enemies and given short shrift or rather [sɔ:rt sɹɪft]. See LINGUISTIC VARIABLE.

**shift-induced change** Any set of changes in a language/variety which can be traced to a shift from one language to another by a certain population. For instance, the aspectual distinctions of IRISH ENGLISH are often regarded as due to the historical shift from Irish to English in the past few centuries. The same is true of the characteristic features of South African Indian English, a variety of English which arose when the Indian immigrants shifted from the native language of their predecessors. See Thomason & Kaufman (1988 [1.5]), Mesthrie (1992 [6.3.1.5]), Hickey (2007b, Chapter 4 [3.3]).

**Ship English** The journey from England to an overseas location took at least several weeks by ship, the shortest being to Newfoundland and Eastern Canada, the longest being to Australia and New Zealand which took considerably longer despite the development of fast, narrow-bow clippers for this long journey in the early nineteenth century. This fact has led a number of linguists to examine the type of English spoken on the emigration ships, often in the assumption that the foundations for features of later varieties at the destination of the ships’ voyages could have been laid during the transoceanic journey. In addition it is known that the crews of emigration ships were quite diverse; they were not only drawn from the hinterlands of the ports, but from further afield, given the opportunity for employment which the emigration industry offered. The earliest study of what is known as Ship English is Matthews (1935 [1.2.2]). The issue has been addressed on several occasions since, notably in Bailey and Ross (1988 [1.2.2]). The data base for Matthews’ study consisted of ships’ logs which were deposited at the Navy Office and in the Public Records Office, most after 1660 and a few before that date. Matthews examined the vowel inventory of Modern English with a view to determining whether values existed then which could have been transported to overseas territories. His findings include such features as substitution of /ʊ, ʌ/ for /ɪ/ (for example *bushop* ‘bishop’, *druselling* ‘drizzling’), the raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ before nasals (for example *inemy*, *wint*, *frinds*), the retraction and raising of /æ/ to /ɔ/ (for example *tollow* ‘tallow’, *for* ‘far’, see above), the lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/ (for example *marcy*, *sarvant*), the use of *th* for *d* as in *orther* ‘order’, *ruther*

‘rudder’ which, as Matthews thinks, suggests the use of /ð/ (see Hickey 1987 [1.5] for a fuller discussion). All these pronunciations have parallels in dialects in England and Matthews confirms that these features were prevalent at the time of transportation. The question still remains unanswered as to whether certain varieties began to form already on the ships. Given the nature of the documents – ships’ logbooks compiled by various individuals – it is probably not possible to determine this definitively.

**Short Front Vowel Lowering** A process whereby the vowels in the KIT, DRESS and TRAP lexical sets show lowered variants. The exact manifestation of this lowering depends on variety. For instance, in Canadian English (*see* CANADIAN SHIFT), according to Boberg (2005 [5.2.5]) looking at Montreal, the lowering is accompanied by centralization. Not all vowels are affected; for example, in recent non-vernacular Dublin English the KIT vowel shows little or no lowering but the DRESS and TRAP vowels show much more. Furthermore, the TRAP vowel is often retracted to [a] or even [ɑ]. The lowering may be conditional, for example by being favoured in the environment of liquids as in *lid* [led], *rid* [red]. Short front vowel lowering is also part of the (northern) Californian vowel shift as described by Penelope Eckert. It is also in keeping with Labov’s principles of vowel shifts whereby lax (short) vowels move downwards in vowel space and tense (long) vowels move upwards, *see* Labov (1994, 2001, 2010 [1.2]).

**Short Message Service (SMS)** *See* TEXTING.

**Short Unstressed Vowel Merger** The lack of distinction between [ə] and [ɪ] in unstressed position in certain varieties of English. This usually arises from the use of schwa in those environments where [ɪ] is found in varieties elsewhere, for example *naked* [neikəd] for [neikɪd] or *trusted* [trəstəd] for [trəstɪd]. For such varieties there is no distinction in the second vowel in words like *ballot* and *bullet*.

**sibilant** A sound pronounced with clear, hissing friction which is suggestive of either /s, z/ or /ʃ, ʒ/.

**sibilants, fortition of** An assimilation of sibilants to stops before nasals, for example *wasn’t* [wɒdnɪt], *isn’t* [ɪdnɪt], which is attested in south-east Ireland (Hickey 2001 [3.3]) and American English of the Lower South (Troike 1986 [1.6]; Schilling-Estes 1995 [5.1.9]).

**Sierra Leone** A West African country bordered in the east by Liberia and in the north and west by Guinea with an area of 72,000 sq km and a population of approximately 5.5 million. About 1 million live in the capital Freetown which was founded in 1787 by the British for the repatriation of slaves chiefly from America, some of whom were liberated by the English. In 1808 Freetown became a crown colony and the hinterland became a protectorate in the late nineteenth century. Sierra Leone gained its independence in 1961 and became a republic in 1971. During the colonial period a pidgin called KRIO arose as the language of repatriated slaves and sections of the native population. Nowadays Krio is used as a creole in Freetown and its surroundings. *See also* BOKO.

**sign** (1) A very general term from semiotics for any item which conveys a specifiable meaning. (2) In orthography it refers to a mark used in writing, frequently as a diacritic, such

as the right-slanting stroke found on many vowels to indicate stress or a particular pronunciation in different European languages, for example French *santé* 'health'. See DIAERESIS.

**sign language** A communication system in which people use their hands to convey signals. In recent years sign language has been the object of linguists' attention (see Pinker 1994 [1]) and has come to be regarded as a fully-fledged system comparable to natural language with those individuals who are congenitally deaf and who learn sign language in childhood (Sandler & Lillo-Martin 2006 [1.1.20], Fox 2007 [1.1.20]). The use of sign languages is called 'signing' and those who do this are termed 'signers'. There are two main versions of sign language in the anglophone world, American Sign Language and British Sign Language. Other national variants exist, Australian Sign Language, New Zealand Sign Language, Irish Sign Language (with the related Northern Irish Sign Language). See Lucas & Valli (2004 [1.1.20]), Wall & Sutton-Spence (2007 [1.1.20]).

**signification** A reference to the relationship between signs (*signifiants*) and what they refer to (*signifiés*). The terms here stem from the work of SAUSSURE.

**similarity, phonetic** A criterion which is used in the assignment of sounds to phonemes. For instance, if a language had both [æ] and [a] then one would assign both to a phoneme /a/ unless there were semantic differences realized by the contrast of [æ] versus [a]. A lack of phonetic similarity can be used to justify separate phonemic affiliations. For instance, although in English /ŋ/ only occurs in syllable codas and /h/ only in syllable onsets, the two sounds are not similar enough for them to be assigned to a single phoneme, something which does hold for syllable onset [l] and syllable coda [t] in RP as both are realizations of /l/.

**simple** (1) A reference to a sentence which consists of only one clause. (2) A general reference to any word form which is unaltered, for example by not showing an ending, and which is often used as a citation form as with *do* in contrast with *does, doing, did, done*.

**simplification, phonological** Apart from reductions in fast speech, there may well be general simplification of consonant clusters in final position and/or before a vowel of the kind regarded as indicative of African American English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 215 [5.1]), for example *lift up* > *lif' up*. Word-final clusters are also simplified in forms of Latino English: *desk* > *des'*; *test* > *tes'* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 45 [5.1]). Final cluster simplification is also a general characteristic of Englishes in South-East Asia. For the position in Scots, see McClure (1994: 65 [3.1]); Schreier (2012 [1.6]) presents a general overview.

**Singapore** A city state at the tip of the Malay peninsula with an area of 710 sq km and a population of approximately 5.2 million. Singapore was founded in 1819 by Sir Stamford RAFFLES by signing a treaty with a local Sultan on behalf of the British East India Company. In 1826 it became the Straits Settlements and grew rapidly in population due to immigration by Chinese, Malays and later Indians to work in the rubber industry, in mining and railway building. In 1963 Singapore joined the Federation of Malaysia along with the mainland Malay provinces and the states of Sarawak and Sabah on Borneo. It left the Federation in 1965 becoming the Republic of Singapore. The main ethnic groups are (1) Chinese, 74 per cent, (2) Malay, 13 per cent and (3) Indian, 9 per cent with other groups less than 4 per cent, for instance Filipinos who work in the domestic sphere. The Republic of Singapore has four official languages – English,

Chinese (Mandarin), Malay and Tamil. The English language is continuously increasing in importance and the authorities are striving to establish it as the first language of public life (laws and the constitution are in English); English is the language of instruction in public schools (Pakir 1993 [7.2.2]). See SINGAPOREAN ENGLISH.

**Singaporean English** A reference to a continuum of varieties found in Singapore, the most acrolectal of which is fairly close to general English English, the exonormative model (British is preferred over American spelling).

*Phonology* Features of basilectal varieties would include: (1) TH-stopping, for example *this* [dis], *thin* [tɪn]. (2) An inconsistent distinction of /l/ and /r/, for example *Singrish* ‘Singlish’. (3) The reduction of word-final clusters, for example *stopped* [stɒp], which leads to considerable homophony. (4) Unaspirated stops in syllable-initial position. (5) Glottal stops for final consonants, for example *pick* [pɪ(k)ʔ], *bet* [be(t)ʔ]. (6) Monophthongal realizations of the FACE and GOAT vowels. (7) Furthermore, /ε/ can equate to /æ/ while /ɑ/ can to both /ɑ:/ and /ʌ/ of southern English English. (8) Final devoicing of obstruents is usual, for example *five* [faɪf], *leg* [lek]. See Wee (2008a [7.2.2]).

*Grammar* (1) Topicalization via left dislocation is common: *Today good weather lah*. (2) Copula deletion is frequent: *My brother Ø school teacher*. (3) Lack of redundant marking, for example with nouns after numerals: *New book twenty dollar*. (4) Various aspectual distinctions are made, for example progressive with *still*: *Late already, you still eat* ‘It’s late already and you are still eating’. (5) *Is it?* is used as an invariant tag, for example *He watching television, is it?* (6) *Get* is used to express perfectivity or existence apart from possession, for example *He got go to Japan* ‘He has been to Japan’; *Here got very many people* ‘There are many people here’. (7) The article (definite/ indefinite) is frequently missing, for example *She got car or not?* ‘Does she have a car?’ (8) Pronouns may be missing with verbs in unambiguous contexts, for example *Always late!* ‘You are always late’. (9) Reduplication is common as an intensifier, for example *We buddy buddy* (close friends), *Where is you boy boy?* (boyfriend/ son) *Don’t always eat sweet sweet things*. See Lim (ed., 2004 [7.2.2]), Wee (2008b [7.2.2]), Leimgruber (2013 [7.2.2]).

*Pragmatics* The particle *lah* is widely used and expresses solidarity, agreement or is employed to draw attention, for example *Your work very good, lah*.

**Singlish** A portmanteau term for vernacular forms of SINGAPOREAN ENGLISH.

**singular** A grammatical category which indicates a single occurrence of something. This is taken as the unmarked or normal instance in language; the plural is marked, usually with a special inflection.

**Sinhala** (also termed Sinhalese, Singhalese) is the majority and official language in Sri Lanka, spoken by about 15 million people. An Indo-Aryan language, it contrasts with the Dravidian language TAMIL, spoken mainly in the north of Sri Lanka and on the Indian mainland.

**SJ-coalescence** A reference to the coalescence of /s/ and /j/ to [ʃ] in a word like *issue* /ɪʃju:/ > [ɪʃu:].

**Skeat, Walter William (1835–1912)** One of the most prominent early English philologists. Skeat was professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge from 1878 to 1912 and is the author

of *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (1882) which became a standard work in the field.

**slang** A widely used, non-linguistic term for colloquial speech which is usually unfavourably contrasted with more formal speech and with written language. The best known historical study is probably Partridge (2002 [1937] [1.4.4]). Early studies are George Andrewes' *A Dictionary of the Slang and Cant Language* (1809), James Hardy Vaux' *Vocabulary of the Flash Language* (1819), which is a collection of words he made while a convict in Australia, and George Kent's *Modern Flash Dictionary* (c.1835). See Eble (2004 [1.4.4]) on slang in the present-day United States and more generally Ayto & Simpson (2010 [1.4.4]).

**slave trade** A system which began in the seventeenth century in English colonies in the Caribbean whereby Africans were taken prisoner in West Africa and then transported across the Atlantic, along the infamous Middle Passage, to the islands of the Caribbean and later to ports in the southern United States. The ships used to transport slaves then carried back raw products such as sugar or cotton to Britain. Slavery was abolished in the British colonies in 1834 (with an act of parliament passed the previous year). See HOMESTEAD PHASE.

**slip of the tongue** See SPEECH ERROR.

**slit t** A reference to the pronunciation of /t/ as an apico-alveolar fricative in weak positions (intervocally, as in *city*, or word-finally after a vowel and before a pause, as in *cut*). This articulation shares all features with the stop /t/ but is a continuant. A symbol for the sound is [t̟] (introduced in Hickey 1984b [3.3]) where the subscript caret iconically indicates the lack of closure by the tongue apex. This realization of /t/ is ubiquitous in the south of Ireland and common in the north as well. It is also found, as a transferred feature, in the speech of the Irish-derived community in Newfoundland. On T-lenition in Australia, see Horvath (2008 [8.1]). See LENITION, IRISH ENGLISH.

**slow speech** A deliberate type of speech delivery usually in more formal contexts. Speakers generally use more standard forms of language in slow speech as was discovered by William Labov in his investigation of New York English (see Labov 2006 [1966] [5.1.4]). The opposite of FAST SPEECH.

**Smart, Benjamin (1786?–1872)** A nineteenth-century scholar who wrote on matters of language usage from a prescriptivist standpoint, for example *A Practical Grammar of English Pronunciation* (London, 1810), *A Grammar of English Sounds* (London, 1812), *Walker Remodelled. A New Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1836).

**social network** See NETWORK, SOCIAL.

**social stratification** The organization of a society in a 'vertical' sense, usually via such factors as education, income, professional status, area of residence, the social networks one participates in, and so on. This contrasts with a geographical classification where the region one lives in (often rural) is taken as defining.



***Social Stratification of English in New York City, The*** A seminal publication in 1966 by William LABOV (second edition 2006) in which he established principles for data collection and analysis which quickly became standard in sociolinguistics.

**socialization** The process by which individuals grow into the society they are surrounded by during their childhood. Socialization has many aspects of which linguistic behaviour is only one. The process is largely unconscious and has far-reaching consequences for individuals in their later life.

**sociolect** A variety of a language which is typical of a certain social group. Sociolects are most common in urban areas. In history, sociolects may play a role, for example in the formation of the English standard, Received Pronunciation, which derives from a city dialect (that of London in the late Middle Ages) but which has long since become a sociolect (Cockney being the dialect of London nowadays).

**sociolinguistics** The study of language in society. Although some writers on language had recognized the importance of social factors in linguistic behaviour, it was not until the 1960s with the seminal work of William LABOV that the attention of large numbers of linguists came to be focussed on language use in a social context. In particular, the principled accounting for language variation and the successful explanation of many instances of language change helped to establish sociolinguistics as an independent sub-discipline in linguistics and provided great impetus for research in this area.

**sociolinguistics, typological** An approach to linguistic analysis which sees external social factors, including types of language contact, as significant in determining the distinctions a language has and the kind of complexity which it shows. See Trudgill (2011 [1.1.1]).

**sociology** The study of society. This is a diversified discipline with a linguistic component, known as the sociology of language, practised by sociologists. Sociolinguists on the other hand are linguists who examine the use of language in society.

**sociophonetics** A recent direction in sociolinguistics in which acoustic analyses of data are presented. The methods of sociophonetics, for example vowel normalization and formant analysis, allow linguists to make objective statements about the speech of individuals or groups of speakers. See Thomas (2011 [1.1.6]).

**SOFT-lengthening** A feature of Dublin English whereby the LOT vowel occurs long before a voiceless fricative as in the word *soft* [sɔ:ft]. This appears to be a retention of nineteenth-century southern English which also had this lengthening but which was later reversed in England. In Dublin English it is an instance of COLONIAL LAG.

**solidarity** The act of identification with another individual or group. It can be expressed linguistically in several ways, for example by sharing pronunciation features, vocabulary items or less frequently grammatical structures.

**Solomon Islands** A group of islands in the South-West Pacific, east of Papua New Guinea, with an area of 28,400 sq km and a population of over half a million, about 80,000 of whom



live in the capital Honiara on Guadalcanal. The islands gained their independence from Britain in 1978 but the English monarch is still the head of state; the official language is English. Pijin is a local creole which arose from the form of nineteenth-century MELANESIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH spoken on the Solomon Islands.

**Somerset** A county in the south-west of England west of Devon on the south side of the Bristol Channel; see Wakelin (1986 [2.9]) and Elworthy (1886 [2.9]) for an early study.

**sonorant** Either a nasal or a liquid (/r/- or /l/-sound). These represent a class which is close to that of glides and vowels. Sonorants tend to be vocalized through weakening, as happened with the velarized [ɫ] and the syllable-final /r/ in the history of English, for example *talk* [tɔ:k] and *pear* [peə].

**sonority** The relative ‘fullness’ of a sound. In terms of sonority, vowels have the highest value and voiceless consonants have the least. Those sounds with greatest sonority tend to form the nucleus of a syllable and those with least occupy the edge, especially on the left, that is the onset of the syllable, as in *split* [splɪt], *spray* [spreɪ], *told* [tould], *sound* [saund]. In English, the nucleus of an unstressed syllable can also be formed by the sonorants /n/ and /l/ as in the second syllable of *button* or *little*.

**Sotho** ['suto] A Bantu language spoken by about 3 million people in Lesotho, and in South Africa (where it is one of the 11 official languages as is Venda, a language closely related to Sotho). It further subdivides into Northern Sotho (in South Africa) and Southern Sotho (in Lesotho and among mine workers and their descendants in South Africa). Southern Sotho has been heavily influenced by Zulu and has developed CLICK SOUNDS. Northern Sotho is mutually intelligible with Tswana (spoken in Botswana and South Africa).

**sound change** The continuous process of change which all languages are subject to. The rate of change differs from language to language and can be influenced by external factors, for instance by contact with other ethnic groups.

**sound law** Any phonetic change which is largely regular. No sound law is absolute and exceptions may well occur due to the phonetic environment in which a segment occurs. For instance, the shift of /p, t, k/ to /f, θ, χ/ defines the earliest stage of Germanic, but the /t/ in a word like *star* (German *Stern*) did not undergo this shift, probably because it was unaspirated in this position.

**sound symbolism** The assumption that there is some kind of semantic connection between a sound and what it symbolizes; for example, the initial sequence /fl-/ in English (and German) somehow represents the notion of quick movement, sometimes of liquids, cf. *flow*, *flux*, *fluent*, *fly*, *flick*, *fling*, *flip*, *flitter*, *flee*, *flash*, *flog*, *flop*. It is a weaker form of ONOMATOPOEIA.

**sound system** The total set of sounds in a language with a specification of what combinations are permissible (phonotactics) and what processes these sounds are involved in.

**source language** The language which provides the input in a borrowing process.

**South, The** In the United States a reference to the region which was originally in the south of the Atlantic colonies (*see* THIRTEEN COLONIES). This region extends from Virginia down to Georgia and then across through Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana to eastern Texas and includes the inland states of Arkansas and (to a lesser degree) Oklahoma. If one takes the horizontal part of the MASON–DIXON LINE as the beginning of the South then it includes Maryland and Delaware as well. The coastline of the Gulf states was originally West Florida under Spanish control and together with East Florida was acquired by the United States in 1819. The south also includes the inland states of Kentucky and Tennessee (which were part of the large Western Territory when the United States gained independence from Britain in 1783). The coastal region of the littoral states, from Virginia down and around to Texas, forms a low-lying plain. Behind this in the Atlantic states is the piedmont, a region of foothills. Running further inland in a south-west to north-east direction are the Appalachian mountains which form a corner of Georgia and South Carolina and a considerable part of North Carolina, Virginia and all of West Virginia, extending further north (*see* APPALACHIAN ENGLISH). Subdivisions of the South are frequently made, for example Lower South, Gulf South, Upper South, Mountain South, Atlantic South. Other popular terms (with varying degrees of accuracy) are Deep South and Dixie.

The South is marked by a strong rural–urban contrast which is reflected in speech as well. Towns and small cities developed at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries by a movement of people from surrounding rural areas. After World War II much larger cities arose whose populations were more mixed, coming from different parts of the United States (Tillery and Bailey (2008: 115 [5.1.9]))

Migration out of the South became possible after the end of the Civil War (1861–1865) but only took place on a large scale (involving several million people) with the GREAT MIGRATION of the early twentieth century. In recent decades there has been a reverse tendency with net migration into the South, especially into urban centres due to labour availability for businesses, tourism or retirement communities (Thomas 2008: 90 [5.1.9]). As a reaction to the influx of Northerners there may be an intensification of rural features vis-à-vis urban forms of speech; on the latter see Tillery and Bailey (2008 [5.1.9]).

**South Africa, Republic of** A large country occupying most of the lower extreme of Africa. It has an area of 1.2 million sq km and a population of approximately 49 million. The administrative capital is Pretoria, the judicial capital Bloemfontein and the legislative capital Cape Town. The largest city is Johannesburg, with over 3.8 million in its metropolitan area. Durban (KwaZulu-Natal) and Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape) are other major cities. South Africa's post-apartheid constitution recognizes 11 official languages: English, Afrikaans; Xhosa, Zulu, Swati, Ndebele (Nguni languages); Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana (Sotho languages) along with Tsonga and Venda.

In 1652 the Cape of Good Hope was colonized by Dutch navigators of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC – the Dutch East India Company) charged with founding a victualling station on the route to the Dutch possessions in Asia. English was introduced in 1795 when the British occupied the colony in the name of the Prince of Orange who was a refugee in England at the time. In 1806 the British seized the Cape from the Dutch in a further pre-emptive move against Napoleon. In 1811 the British government started the systematic Anglicization of the Cape Colony and in 1814 instructed that English be made the sole official language. In 1840 Dutch was prohibited as a medium of instruction in schools and only reinstated as an alternative in 1892. In 1820 approximately 4,000 British emigrants landed at Port Elizabeth and settled in the Eastern Cape region. To escape the British and keep their slaves,

many Dutch-speaking farmers (Voortrekkers) made the Great Trek across the Orange River, establishing the Republic of Natal in 1839 which was then annexed by the British in 1846; the Republics of Orange Free State (1854) and Transvaal (1852, north-east corner of the country) were not affected. The 1820 group was probably more rural than urban and contained many speakers from the London and the Home Counties. Lass (1987: 302 [1.5]) sees the specifically southern features in South African English as deriving from the speech of this settler group. However, Bekker (2012 [6.3.1]) regards the late nineteenth century as the formative period for white South African English. Between 1848 and 1862 (Lanham 1996: 21 [6.3.1]) a second wave of settlement occurred in Natal. Here the input from northern counties (Yorkshire and Lancashire) was noticeable as opposed to the southern influence during the 1820 settlement. Between 1860 and 1911 various indentured labourers from India arrived in South Africa and formed the basis for the later Indian-based population in the country. With the discovery of gold and diamonds in the 1870s and 1880s there was a major influx of immigrants who greatly outnumbered the old colonials. A new society arose, particularly in Transvaal, around the mining centres. Two Boer Wars (also called the South African Wars) were fought for influence in South Africa by the British and the Dutch during 1880–1881 and 1899–1902.

The staunchly Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 and pursued an active anti-English policy in the third quarter of the twentieth century (mainly from 1958–1976), above all in education. It introduced formal apartheid (strict racial segregation) in the mid-twentieth century. With the end of apartheid in 1994 a new era was ushered in with full participation of the native black population of South Africa. This has led to a greater presence of BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH in public and the media which in turn has resulted in a destigmatization of its features as well as a convergence on the linguistic norms of the white population (*see* RESTANDARDIZATION). The following remarks apply to white South African English and in a more restricted way to AFRIKAANS ENGLISH.

*Phonology* (1) In general, South African English is non-rhotic: *car* [ka:], *card* [ka:d]. Some Afrikaans speakers show an obstruent /r/ stemming from their first language. Note that South Africa has 4 of the 6 southern features listed in Mitchell and Delbridge (1965 [8.1]). (2) Centralization of the first element with the diphthongs /eɪ/ and /ɔʊ/, for example *may* /mæɪ/, *go* /gəʊ/ (only the latter is true for RP). (3) Raising of front short vowels: *man* /mɛn/, a traditional Southern Hemisphere feature. However, as in Australia, this historical process may be turning around with lowering of these vowels, certainly of the TRAP vowel. (4) Schwa is frequently found for /ɪ/, for example *pin* /pən/ and in unstressed syllables, *wanted* /wɒntəd/, *see* KIT-BIT SPLIT. (5) The diphthong /aɪ/ as in *time* is often quite open: [tæm, ta:m].

*Syntax* The influence of Afrikaans may be noticeable, cf. the lack of prepositions with many verbs, for example *explain*, *reply*, *write*. The word *busy* is found as a progressive marker: *They were busy arguing*. There is a general purpose *is it?*: *He's gone abroad, is it?* or the common *ne* [nɛ] (from Afrikaans and with the same semantics as English *is it?*), initially used by blacks then by Afrikaans and English speakers. A positive use of *no* in sentence-initial position occurs, cf. *How are you keeping? No, we're well thank you*.

*Lexis* There are two main sources for loanwords in South African English: (1) Dutch / Afrikaans, for example *kloof* 'ravine', *kraal* 'animal pen', *veld* 'unenclosed land', *apartheid*; (2) native languages of the region, especially for flora and fauna, for example *impala* type of antelope. Sometimes there are special uses of English words, for example *shame* as a positive exclamation meaning 'how sweet', as in A: *They've got a new pup*. B: *Shame!*. A use of 'sorry' as a signal of general hearer misfortune has been adopted from blacks and occurs increasingly in white English.

**South African Indian English** A term for varieties spoken by the descendants of Indians taken to KwaZulu-Natal (then simply Natal) between 1860 and 1911. During this period the British government of India allowed the recruitment of labour for other parts of the empire. The result was the movement of hundreds of thousands to other colonies: in the Indian ocean to Mauritius (1834) and in the Caribbean to British Guyana (1838), Jamaica and Trinidad (1844) and later other West Indian islands (Mesthrie 1996: 80 [6.3.1.5]). The movement to Natal was part of this process; speakers of Bhojpurī (varieties of Hindi) from northern India as well as Tamil and Telugu speakers from southern India were the main groups involved. Smaller numbers of other ethnic groups – Gujarati, Marathi (Konkani), Sindhi (Meman) – arrived from 1875 onwards, mainly trading-class Indians from east-central areas. Nearly all the immigrants could not speak English (Mesthrie 1996: 80 [6.3.1.5]). The language they learned first was the pidgin FANAGALO (which predates their arrival). Among themselves the Indians resorted to one of their native languages, typically Bhojpurī or Tamil. English would seem to have been presented to the Indians through missionaries, teachers and English-speaking owners of sugar plantations. Mesthrie (1996: 80–81 [6.3.1.5]) thinks that the exposure to English was less thorough, consisting just of teachers and some other speakers of English in Natal, many of whom did not have it as their native language. Mesthrie suggests that for the nineteenth century there were as many non-native English contacts for the Indians as there were mother-tongue contacts. The period of shift from domestic Indian languages to dominant native-like English is fairly recent for Natal, only getting under way after World War II with the general improvement of educational institutions: the ‘closed cycle of reinforcement’ is where parents (mothers in rural homes especially) learned English from their children who were carrying the language home from school.

*Phonology* (1) Syllable timing in informal speech. (2) Retroflexion of alveolars /t, d/ particularly in syllable-final, open position, for example *but* [baɭ], *bud* [baɖ]. (3) Use of dental stops /t̪/ and /d̪/ in the THIN and THIS lexical sets.

*Grammar* (1) Second person plural pronoun formed by eliding *you* and *all*: *Are y'all coming?* A possessive form also exists with genitive 's: *Is that y'all's dog?* (2) Copula/auxiliary deletion is common: *Harry not there.* (3) Fronting can take place without clefting (topicalized element is moved to the front): *Banana you want; Near to Margate that is.* (4) Zero subject relative pronoun: *We talking about my friend Ø lives down there. I'm a man Ø I don't go church at all.* (5) Preference of parataxis over hypotaxis: *I went to Derek – Derek filled that form in – he sent it.* (6) Relative clauses precede the head noun of the main clause: *You can't beat that (= those) Vijay's-planted tomatoes.* (7) Non-inversion of subject and auxiliary in main clause *wh*-questions: *I don't know when is the plane going to land.* (8) Recasting of passives as actives in basilectal forms: *In TV that sees.* ‘That can be seen on TV’. (9) Possessive for existential: *Small broom haven't got?*, ‘Don't you have a small broom?’, *Got one big dog there.* ‘There's a big dog there.’ (10) Word order of Indian languages can be maintained with titles, for example *Johnny Uncle.* (11) Reduplication of *wh*-words: *who-who* ‘who of several people’, *where-where* ‘where of several places’, *what-what* ‘what of several things’. *Who-who's coming today? Where-where they sent you? What-what she told me I listened nicely.* ‘I listened carefully to whatever she told me’. (12) Extended partitive genitive: *She put too much of nuts in the cake. There's too much of nonsense at work.* (13) Articles show the interplay of different elements: (*The*>Ø) *Food is lovely.* (presupposed+specific), *At the stall I bought one soda water.* (asserted+specific), *If they give us (a>Ø) chance.* (non-specific). (14) Aspectual structures (i): habitual with (a) *stay*, (b) invariant *be* or (c) *should* in the past. *They used to fight and stay.* ‘They used to be continually quarrelling’. (15) Aspectual structures (ii): perfective with (a) *leave*, (b) *finish*: *She filled the bottle an' left it.* ‘She filled the bottle up’. See Mesthrie (1992 [6.3.1.5]).

**South Asia** A geographical term now preferred to the former umbrella term ‘the Indian subcontinent’. ‘South Asia’ encompasses India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, and also includes Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives. British India, during the *RAJ* (‘reign’ in Hindi), was one of the largest and most important of British colonies. It was colonized early and was originally in the hands of English firms which organized trade with the colony; the most important of these was the powerful East India Company founded in 1600 and which established bases later in the century at many of the sites which were to become major cities of India: Bombay (Mumbai), Calcutta (Kolkata), Madras (Chennai). In these early days, Portuguese was an important language, being replaced in the following centuries by English with the missionary activity and the establishment of English educational institutions in India (*see* MACAULAY, THOMAS BABINGTON (1800–1859)). Over 70 per cent of the languages spoken in India are Indo-Aryan (going on the numbers of speakers – the greatest number of languages belong to the Tibeto-Burmese family), that is of Indo-European origin, deriving ultimately from Sanskrit, the classical language of India on a par with Greek in Europe. About a quarter of languages are Dravidian, a separate language family found in the south of India. The country is largely of Hindu religion but has sizeable Muslim sections, particularly in the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir as well as in Assam and West Bengal in the vicinity of Bangladesh and Kerala in the south-east of India. Other religions, such as Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Christianity, are also present. India is constitutionally a secular country in contradistinction to other countries of South Asia such as Pakistan or Bangladesh (both Muslim).

**South Atlantic, The** The development of new ocean-going vessels in the nineteenth century made the long journey down the Atlantic, across the Indian Ocean to Australia and New Zealand, and of course the return journey across the southern Pacific and up the Atlantic again, both feasible and an economically viable proposition. This gave impetus to the settlement of Australia and New Zealand, but it also led to tiny English settlements in the South Atlantic, specifically on the FALKLAND ISLANDS and on TRISTAN DA CUNHA. ST HELENA was settled much earlier than these but is nonetheless related to the latter in terms of language.

**South Carolina** A state in the south-east United States bounded by North Carolina to the north and Georgia to the south. It was an important slave-holding state and the first to secede in 1860 before the Civil War (1861–1865) began. The port of CHARLESTON was a significant location for the African slave trade.

**South Pacific English** A cover term for English as spoken in a number of island nations of the South Pacific. The largest of these is FIJI; other important locations are SAMOA and the COOK ISLANDS. See Biewer (2012 [8.3]).

**South-East Asia** A geographical term referring to a large part of mainland and island Asia, approximately between Malaysia in the west and southern China in the north and bounded on the south by Indonesia and in the east by the Philippines. In anglophone terms, it encompasses Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Hong Kong, although the latter region is quite far north and, in strict geographical terms, is more part of East Asia. The types of English spoken in South-East Asia depend on the degree of education and exposure to English as well as on substrate influence (McLellan 2012 [7.2]). In Malaysia the native language Malay plays an important role, as do Indian languages and Chinese in Singapore and Cantonese in Hong Kong.



**Southern Africa** A geographical term which refers to the southern parts of Africa. Because there is a country called SOUTH AFRICA, the adjective ‘southern’ is used here. The region includes the following countries in which English is widely spoken: South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland.

**southern ‘drawl’** A popular term referring to the lengthening of short vowels and possible the DIPHTHONG FLATTENING which is found in vernacular varieties in the southern United States.

**Southern Hemisphere English** A cover term for English spoken in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. It also encompasses the smaller anglophone locations of the Falkland Islands, St Helena, Tristan da Cunha as well as the islands of the southern Pacific (Melanesia and Polynesia, bar Hawai‘i). English settlement of this wide area began in the late eighteenth century. Large-scale emigration, for instance to Australia, was made possible by the development of metal-hull ocean-going ships suitable for the long journey to the South Atlantic and across the south Indian Ocean. A major event was the landing of James COOK at Botany Bay on the east coast of Australia in 1770. He claimed the land for the British and named it New South Wales. In 1788 Arthur Phillip established a penal colony at Sydney Cove for convicts transported from England, thus initiating English settlement in Australia. Another significant event occurred in 1795, when the British, in an effort to pre-empt a move by the French under Napoleon, occupied the Cape region, repeating this move in 1806. In 1814 the English purchased the Cape Colony from the Dutch settlers, who had been there for some considerable time (the first arrived in the seventeenth century). In the 1820s large numbers of English arrived, settling in the Eastern Cape region, thus cementing the British presence in South Africa. In the late 1830s ordered immigration to New Zealand proceeded under the control of the New Zealand Company, founded by Edward WAKEFIELD. In 1840 the British government negotiated the TREATY OF WAITANGI with the native MAORI population and, as a consequence, the way was opened up for large-scale English, Scottish and Irish immigration to New Zealand in the latter half of the nineteenth century. With the opening up of South Africa, Australia and then New Zealand native-speaker English established itself at these locations but with locally different conditions in each case. Varieties of English in the Southern Hemisphere sound fairly similar and can be distinguished from general Northern Hemisphere varieties by (1) being non-rhotic, (2) having raised realizations of short front vowels in the TRAP, DRESS and KIT lexical sets (though recent developments in Australia are in the opposite direction) and (3) by often having a lowered realization of the diphthong in the FACE lexical set and a retraction and raised realization for PRICE and CHOICE.

**Southern Plantation Overseers Corpus** A computer-readable letter collection written by overseers on southern plantations in the first half of the nineteenth century compiled by Michael Montgomery (South Carolina) and Edgar Schneider (Regensburg).

**Southern Shift, The** A phenomenon described by William Labov (see Labov 1994 [1.2]) for varieties of English in the southern United States, involving the following vowel shifts: /i:/ in *meet* and /e:/ in *mate* are retracted and lowered with /ɪ/ in *bid* and /ɛ/ in *bed* shifting upwards and to the front, diphthongizing in the process. The numbers in Table 20 indicate the order of the shifts according to Labov, Ash & Boberg (2006 [5.1.2]), see Gordon (2012 [5.1]: 118).

**Table 20** The Southern Shift (United States).

/i/ ⇔	3	
↻ /ɪ/		
/e/ ⇔	2	
↻ /ɛ/		1
	/aɪ/ ⇔	/a:/

The fronting of the mid and high back vowels /u:/ and /o:/, as in *boot* and *boat*, is now regarded as an independent development separate from this shift.

**Southern Shore** A stretch of coast in Newfoundland on the south-east of the Avalon Peninsula (south of the capital St Johns) which historically was an area of Irish settlement. See Clarke (2010 [5.2.8]).

**South-West** (i) A geographical term referring to the counties of Devon and Cornwall in England, usually with Somerset and Dorset as well. This area is traditionally rhotic, as opposed to the rest of the south of England. (ii) A region of the United States which usually includes southern California, Nevada, Utah as well as Colorado; Arizona, New Mexico and western Texas, that is the states along or close to the border with Mexico. This is the area with the highest proportion of Spanish speakers from Central America.

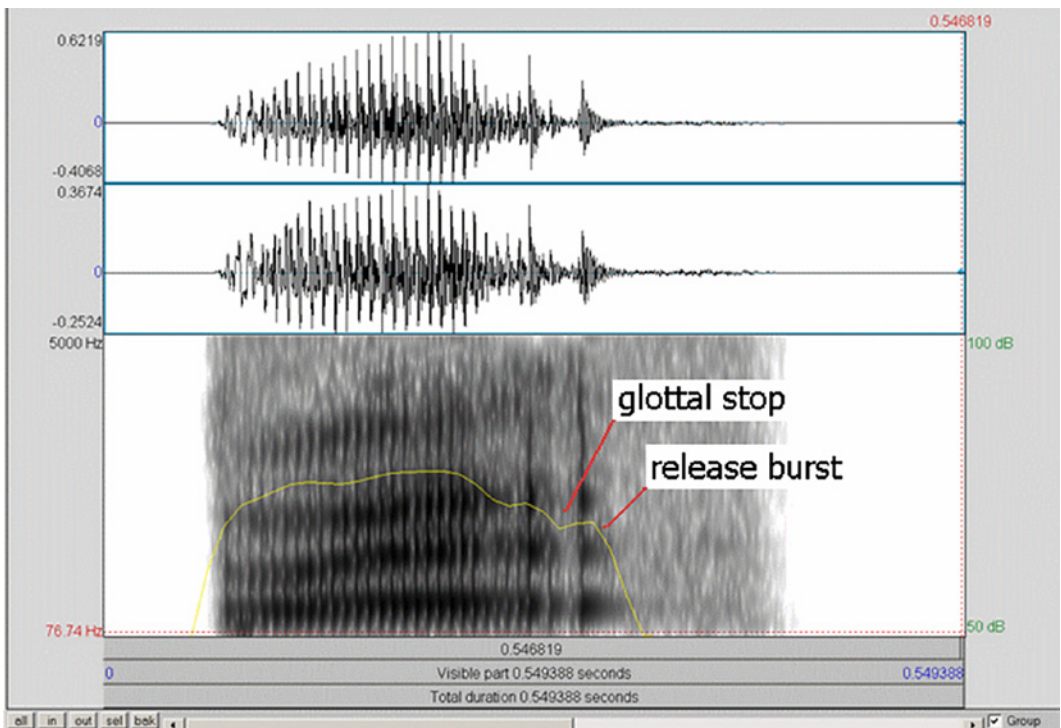
**Spanish colonialism** Both England and Spain had considerable overseas possessions for several centuries, something which justifies the label ‘empire’ in both cases. There are similarities and differences between the colonial enterprise in both countries. Spain was first among the European powers to develop an empire in the New World (along with Portugal) and in the sixteenth century took possession of large parts of the Caribbean, Central and South America. England arrived on the scene about a hundred years later and began on small islands in the Caribbean and the eastern coast of North America. Various Spanish possessions in the New World gained their independence in the nineteenth century, much earlier than did most possessions of Britain, except the United States which declared its independence in 1776. Most of the early Spanish colonials were from the south of Spain, mainly from Andalucía (Seville, Cadiz and Huelva were major ports of departure) or some other southern provinces like Extremadura or Murcia. This meant that colonial Spanish had a distinctly southern flavour from the start, with /s/ for Castilian /θ/ and [h] for final inflectional /s/, for example (*see CECEO, SESEO, DISTINCIÓN; CHICANO ENGLISH*). The first settlers from the British Isles came from various parts of England, Scotland and Ireland so that the linguistic input to the early colonies was much more heterogeneous than in the case of Spain. From the beginning Spain was concerned with exploiting its colonies for precious metals – gold and silver – and did not import large quantities of raw goods like sugar and tobacco as Britain did. For this reason Spain did not have the large plantations with slaves found in the anglophone world and so the main locus for the genesis for creoles was missing. There are, nonetheless, a few Spanish-lexifier creoles, for example Palenquero (Colombia), Papiamentu (Aruba, Curaçao & Bonaire) and Chavacano (The Philippines). Furthermore, Spain did not send large numbers of settlers out to the colonies but rather maintained an administrative and military presence at the overseas locations. Emigration to colonies for reasons of religious persecution was not a motivating factor among the Spanish, who were all Catholic (the Jews and the Muslims had been expelled from Spain in the late fifteenth century under Isabella and Ferdinand, the ‘Catholic Monarchs’).



Nor was land shortage a factor for the Spanish as it was in Britain and Ireland. Lastly, Spain did not experience famine on anything like the scale of Scotland and Ireland where it triggered massive emigration. See DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM and the references in section 11 of the Reference Guide.

**‘Speak Good English Movement’** A programme launched by the government of Singapore in 2000 to improve the knowledge of standard English; its slogan was ‘speak well, be understood’. It was intended to dissuade the native population from using SINGLISH, the basilectal form of English used in the city.

**spectrogram** A graphic representation of a stretch of human speech which shows the relative intensity of sound for a certain time segment and a certain frequency range. Spectrograms facilitate the recognition of different sounds in speech, vowels and consonants, and of variation within these sounds, for example a change in articulation during a diphthong. Intensity corresponds to relative darkness of the printout (or representation on screen). The dark bands in the articulation of vowels indicate their formants. The first formants (the base) along with the second and third formants are usually visible and reflect the quality of the vowel, including whether it is rhotic or not. See Figure 5 for an example.



**Figure 5** Spectrogram of local Dublin speaker saying *wet* with final glottal stop.

**speech** The production of sounds using the organs of speech; this contrasts directly with writing which is a secondary medium for communication via language.

**speech act** A use of language which is both a linguistic act and communication with another individual. Examples would be a command, apology or promise where the use of language constitutes the act in question. Speech acts became an area of linguistic concern after the pioneering work of J. L. AUSTIN (Austin 1962 [1.3.3]) in the early 1960s. It was expanded by John SEARLE in the late 1960s and 1970s (Searle 1969 [1.3.3]) and has provided the theoretical underpinnings for PRAGMATICS; *see* VARIATIONAL PRAGMATICS.

**speech community** Any identifiable and delimitable group of speakers who use a more or less unified type of language.

**speech disorder / speech defect** A term for an impairment in the production of speech sounds in a language. The most common forms are stuttering and phonetic disorders. Stuttering involves involuntary repetition of sounds accompanied by stretches of silence when a person is attempting to speak. It can be typical of an individual at a certain period of life, usually adolescence and early adulthood, and/or appear in certain situations, for example when on the telephone or speaking in public, and is thought to have psychological causes. It is not a genetic disorder and often disappears later in life. Some speakers of conservative Received Pronunciation may have slight stuttering as an affectation in their speech, using it when emphasizing something.

A phonetic disorder involves the misproduction of a sound or subset of sounds in a language, for example /r/ or the set of sibilants. Children begin by using [w] or [v] for /r/ and if someone does not proceed beyond this stage then this would constitute a phonetic disorder, *unless* the variety being acquired has this realization as the adult form, *see* /R/, LABIO-DENTAL. Difficulties in producing sibilants is generally known as *lisp*ing and usually involves sounds similar to inter-dental fricatives but also lateral- or nasal-like sounds. These difficulties arise due to incorrect tongue positioning during the formative period of first language acquisition which speakers then retain. Such disorders can often be rectified by remedial phonetic training even in adulthood.

There is a subset of speech disorders which arise through individuals suffering a stroke when this affects the Broca area (front part of the left brain hemisphere). The most severe form is *apraxia* which involves cerebral, pre-production difficulties in speaking. Other causes of speech disorders are Parkinson's disease and motor neuron disease, both of which lead to difficulties in the muscular control necessary for speech (known as *dysarthria*). *See* APHASIA.

**speech error** A performance error in language, one major kind of which is characterized by a switching around of syllable onsets and codas, as with so-called SPOONERISMS. There are many other kinds, for example errors based on anticipation as in *He tried to seat (beat) the system*, or blends as in *I just bought a lapbook* (< *lap*[top] + [*note*]book) or *discourse marticles* (< *m*[arkers] + [*p*]articles). Whether speech errors are semantically or indeed psychologically motivated has been much discussed. The founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), believed that they were, but linguists are often sceptical.

**Speed, John (1552–1629)** A famous English cartographer, who at the beginning of the seventeenth century produced several excellent maps of parts of the British Isles and of the world as it was known to his contemporaries.

**spelling pronunciation** A pronunciation which is derived from the spelling of a word when this is different from what one would expect etymologically; for example English *fault* is pronounced with an /l/ (ultimately to show that it is related to Latin *fallitus*) but there was no lateral in the form of the word borrowed from French in the Middle English period (*faute*). Some instances of ‘rewritings’ did not lead to a change in pronunciation, for example *debt* (ME *dette*, Latin *debitus*), *indict* (ME *indite*, Latin *indicare* : *indictus*). Recent spelling pronunciations would include *again* as [əˈgeɪn] rather than [əˈgɛn] or *often* as [ɒftən] rather than [ɒfɪn].

**split infinitive** An infinitive in which some element – typically an adverb – occurs between ‘to’ and the verb, for example *Fiona used to readily help the others*. Regarded by purists as poor English style despite its common occurrence.

**spontaneous change** Any instance of language change which cannot be traced back to a definite trigger, internal or external. Nowadays sociolinguists tend to believe that this kind of change does not exist or at least is very rare. It was postulated previously because not all the social factors involved in language change were appreciated.

**spoonerism** The unintentional switching around of sounds during speech (*see* SLIP OF THE TONGUE), resulting in unusual meanings and supposedly typical of one Reverend William Spooner (1844–1930), an Oxford don, who was supposed to have been prone to this phenomenon as in the much cited, probably apocryphal sentence *You have tasted the worm and hissed my mystery lectures*.

**Sprachbund** *See* LINGUISTIC AREA.

**spread** A reference to sounds produced with spread lips, that is without any rounding; for example, /e:/ is spoken with spread lips but /o:/ is not.

**square bracket** A symbol used to enclose sounds in phonetic descriptions or allophones in phonological analyses; there is an opening and a closing square bracket, for example *spɪɪ* [spɪɪ]. *See* OBLIQUES.

**SQUARE lexical set** The set which contains the reflex of early modern /ɛ/ before /r/. In non-rhotic varieties this is [ɛə] and in rhotic ones it is usually [ɛɹ].

**SQUARE-NURSE merger** A merger of early modern /ɛ/ + /r/ with /ə/ + /r/, usually by the former migrating to a central position as can be found, for example, in forms of Belfast and Liverpool English (Beal 2008a: 135 [2.10]).

**Sranan** or *Sranan Tongo* or *Taki-Taki* (the last a derogatory label) is the name given to a creole (previously called *negerengels* ‘negro English’) which is spoken by as many as 300,000 people, largely in the coastal region of Suriname (former Dutch Guyana). These people are the descendants of former slaves taken from West Africa during the colonial period. Sranan also has a function as a lingua franca in Suriname, that is as a general means of communication among people from diverse ethnic groups. *See* Migge and Légise (2012 [1.4.1]).

**Sri Lanka** A South Asian island nation south-east of India with an area of 66,610 sq km and a population of approximately 21 million, formerly known as Ceylon. The largest city is Colombo with a metropolitan population of over 5 million, including the capital Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte, just to the east. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in 1505 and founded the city of Colombo in 1517. The Dutch arrived in 1602 and came to dominate the island in the seventeenth century, in particular the Kingdom of Kandy in the centre and east. After defeating the Dutch in 1796, the British established the colony of Ceylon in 1802 when the Dutch ceded their territories with the Treaty of Amiens. In 1815 the British finally defeated native forces in Kandy, gaining control over the entire island. Tamil workers from South India were subsequently imported to work on the plantations, mainly growing tea but also coffee and producing rubber. In 1948 Ceylon became a Dominion of the British Empire. In 1972 it gained independence as the Republic of Sri Lanka. Sinhala and Tamil are official languages with English a link language.

Demographically Sri Lanka presents a complex picture. Apart from the Sinhala (c.74 per cent) and Tamil (c.13 per cent), the latter in the north around Jaffna and on the east coast, there were early groups of Arabs who traded and settled there and brought Islam to the island. Today Sri Lankan Moors, their descendants, comprise about 10 per cent of the population. Formerly, they and Tamils in India used Arwi, a form of Tamil influenced heavily by Arabic written in Arabic script. During the Dutch and British periods, Malays came to Ceylon and due to the mixture of Sinhala and Tamil a creole arose through the restructuring of Malay and the addition of elements from the native languages of Ceylon (Ansaldi 2008 [7.1.4]). At present there are about 40–50,000 Malays in Sri Lanka. There was also a native ethnic group of Veddas, of whom only some few thousand are left today; their language is now extinct and was thought to have been a creolized form of Sinhala.

Already by the seventeenth century there were people of mixed European and Asian descent with a Portuguese or Dutch, later with a British or German background. People of Euroasian heritage are known in Sri Lanka as Burghers. The earliest interaction of the Portuguese with the Sri Lankans gave rise to Indo-Portuguese Creole but this later died out as did Dutch. Burghers, who today form only about 0.2 per cent of the population, are speakers of English. Sri Lankan Kaffirs are an ethnic group stemming from Portuguese and African slaves taken by the former to the island to fight local leaders.

English was the medium of instruction in the schools and institutions established by the missionaries, mainly in the nineteenth century, a fact which led to the dissemination of their English. Sri Lankan English shows a range of influences, chiefly that of (Indo-Aryan) *SINHALA* and (Dravidian) *TAMIL*. In phonology it shows stops in the *THIN* and *THIS* lexical sets and generally has monophthongs in the *FACE* and *GOAT* lexical sets. Retroflexion of consonants, found in India, is not obvious. Stress patterns generally show penultimate stress from Sinhala, for example *sig' nature*, *alter' native*, *Eu' ropean*, *' Malay*.

**St Helena** The island of St Helena lies in the South Atlantic north of the Tropic of Capricorn on a latitude with south Angola. It is a British Overseas Territory consisting of Ascension, St Helena and Tristan da Cunha. It has a surface area of 122 sq km, though most of this is mountainous and hence the population is concentrated mainly in the valley of Jamestown, the capital. Currently the population stands at 4,255. The island was first discovered in 1502 by the Portuguese who gave it its name. The East India Company managed the island for a considerable period from 1658 to 1815 and again as the British East India Company from 1821 to 1834. During 1815–1821 Napoleon Bonaparte was in exile on St Helena. In the 1830s it was directly ruled by the British as a crown colony and in 1922 it became a dependency. St Helena received partial autonomy in 1966. Phonological features of

St Helenian English are the substitution of /w/ for /v/ and the frequent replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ by /f/ and /d/ so that *bath* is pronounced with a final /f/. See Schreier (2008 [6.4.2]) for a detailed investigation.

**St Kitts and Nevis** An island state in the Leeward Islands of the Caribbean with a total area of 261 sq km and a population of approximately 52,000. In 1623 Saint Kitts became the first English colony in the Caribbean. The country was under British and French control until 1783 when it was declared British after the Treaty of Versailles. Saint Kitts and Nevis were united by the Federal Act of 1882 along with Anguilla. Anguilla chose to remain a British dependency in 1983, but Saint Kitts and Nevis became independent. English is the official language but Leeward Caribbean Creole English (an English-based creole) is widely spoken and used in daily interaction.

**St Lucia** A Caribbean island state in the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles with a total area of 616 sq km and a population of approximately 180,000. In 1502 Columbus landed in St Lucia. Two Frenchmen purchased St Lucia, Grenada, and Martinique in 1650. After the Treaty of Paris in 1814, St Lucia was declared British. Independence was gained in 1979. Because of the early French colonial presence a French-lexifier creole is spoken on St Lucia with English the official language.

**St Vincent and the Grenadines** An island state in the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles in the south-east Caribbean with a total area of 389 sq km (the largest island is Bequia) and a population of over 120,000. Columbus visited the islands in 1498. The British acquired the islands in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris. St Vincent became part of the Windward Island colony in 1871 and the group became independent in 1979. English is the official language and a local creole is widely spoken.

**standard** A variety of a language which, due to historical circumstance, for example by being the language of the capital or that used in literature and/or religion, has become the lead variety in a country. As a result of this, the standard may be expanded due to the increase in function which it experiences. Countries often have a term for their standard. In England there are various terms such as *The Queen's English*, *Oxford English*, *BBC English*, *Received Pronunciation*. Only the last of these finds favour with linguists.

**standard English** A reference to a supranational form of written English which is normally used in printing, in various documents of an official nature and which is taught to foreigners. Spoken standard English is not a single form of the language but is represented by the supra-regional varieties in different anglophone countries and regions (Hickey 2012b [1.3]). The notion of standard English has been viewed critically by a number of linguists who see in it a disguised form of prescriptivism and discrimination (Milroy & Milroy 1999 [1]). Furthermore, standard English has been viewed as an anglocentric development which led inevitably to RP. Other scenarios have been presented in Watts & Trudgill (eds, 2001 [1]). The issues surrounding a definition of standard English are a central theme in Bex & Watts (eds, 1999 [1.3]). The historical background to the rise of standard English in England and the attendant increase in prescriptivism is treated in Cheshire & Stein (eds, 1997 [1.3]), Crowley (1989 [1.3], 1991 [1]), Wright (ed., 2000 [1.3]) and Mugglestone (2007 [1995] [1]); Lippi-Green (2011 [1997] [5.1]) examines similar developments in the American context.

**standardization** A process during which a variety becomes the standard in a country. This generally lasts some centuries and is furthered by external developments such as the rise in prestige of a capital city and the speech of the leading class there; this is the process of ‘selection’. Varieties typically become independent of their regional roots on standardization as has happened with RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION and are often fixed in orthography and grammar; this is the process of ‘codification’. The steps involved in standardization were explicitly formulated by Einar Haugen in the early 1960s and are given in tabular form in Table 21.

**Table 21** Criteria for standard languages (taken from Haugen 2003 [1964]: 421 [1.3]).

	<i>Form</i>	<i>Function</i>
<i>Society</i>	Selection	Acceptance
<i>Language</i>	Codification	Elaboration

**starred form** (1) A form which is regarded as ungrammatical, for example \**unbeautiful*, \**unugly*, but *unclean*. (2) A reconstructed, that is not attested, form, for example Indo-European \**q<sup>u</sup>ena* ‘woman’ (the root of English *queen*, Russian *žena*, Greek *gunē*, Irish *bean*, etc.).

**START lexical set** A set whose members contain early modern /a/ before /r/. In non-rhotic varieties, for example RP and South African English, the /a/ is generally retracted, cf. *start* [stɑ:t]. Rhotic varieties show variation in the vowel which may be fronted and tensed as in rural Irish English, [stæ:ɪt / stɛ:ɪt]. Retracted variants are also found, often before a retroflex /r/, for example [stɑ:ɪt].

**stative and psych-verbs** A reference to types of verb, such as *know*, *believe*, *have*, that express a state rather than an action. Such verbs have certain behavioural characteristics; for example, continuous forms do not occur with these verbs in standard English but in some varieties the present progressive may be allowed (forms of South African English, Watermeyer 1996: 110 [6.3.1.2]) as in *My mother was having her suspicions. He’s not knowing much Afrikaans*.

**stem** A part of a word to which prefixes and/or suffixes can be added. It is normally unalterable, though with some morphological processes, such as (unproductive) ABLAUT with strong verbs, for example *sing* : *sang*: *sung*, it may change. It is usually used synonymously with *root*.

**stereotypes** A simplified representation of some features which are taken to be characteristic of a group of speakers, a region or country, for example the use of [ɪ] in words like *get* and *just* in Southern American English (Thomas 2008: 93 [5.1.9]) or the use of *INNIT* in Cockney. See ENREGISTERMENT.

**stigma, linguistic** Negative evaluation associated with the use of certain pronunciations and/or structures in a variety. The judgemental attitude triggered by such use is normally the result of the stigma-bearing features deriving from non-standard varieties of a language.

**stop** A consonant which is formed by blocking off the airstream completely, for example /p, t, k/. It contrasts with a fricative which does not involve an interruption of the airstream.



**stops, aspiration and release of** In English English final stops are released but not in all forms of American English. Furthermore, the degree of aspiration may vary when stops are released.

**stops, tapping of voiceless alveolar stops** In intervocalic position /t/ may be realized as [ɾ] as in *butter* [bʌɾər]. This may lead to words like *writer* and *rider* becoming (near-) homophones, especially in American English where the phenomenon is very common and where both /t/ and /d/ are realized as [ɾ] (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 55 [5.1]). The term ‘flap’ can also be found for the [ɾ] sound.

**STR palatalization** A reference to the use of a post-alveolar sibilant [ʃ] for laminal [s] in initial /str-/ clusters, for instance *street* [ʃtri:t]. This has been reported for parts of the United States, for example Philadelphia (Gordon 2008: 79 [5.1.4]) and Louisiana (Rutter 2011 [1.6]), as well as for London from where it would appear to be spreading to other urban centres around Britain, especially among young females. The use of [ʃ] in /str-/ clusters may be an effect of /r/ (Lawrence 2000 [1.6]) which would demand a preceding [ʃ], cf. *shrimp* [ʃrɪmp].

**stress** The acoustic prominence of a syllable in a word. The physical correlates of stress can vary. Typically it involves the raising of the basic frequency and/or of volume matched by a prolongation of the syllable involved.

**stress, word** Word stress is one of the main differences between American and British English, cf. *a'dult* : 'adult, 'direct : dɪ'rekt, 'address : ad'dress. Different stress patterns can lead to differences in the segmental composition of a word, for example *inquiry* BRITISH ENGLISH [ɪŋ'kwairi], AMERICAN ENGLISH [ɪŋkwəri] (Pederson 2001: 261 [5.1.2]).

**stress in polysyllabic words** Variation can occur with trisyllabic verbs which end in *-ate* in some varieties, especially traditional dialects, showing stress on the ending: *We do cele'brate the feast of St. Kieran*, cf. *investi'gate*, *distri'bute*, *concen'trate*, *demon'strate*, *edu'cate* (widely attested in Irish English as well as many overseas varieties).

**stress patterns, sentence** See HIGH-RISING TERMINAL.

**stressed BEEN** See AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH.

**stress-timing** A reference to languages in which the intervals between stressed syllables tend to be of approximately equal length. English, Swedish, German, Russian are examples of stressed-timed languages. See SYLLABLE-TIMING.

**Strine** An informal term, pronounced [straɪn], for colloquial Australian English devised by Alistair Morrison in the 1960s by contracting *Australian*.

**strong to weak verbs** During the history of English there has been a general tendency for strong verbs, which use a change in stem vowel to indicate tense as in *swim* : *swam*, to become weak using an ending in the past, for example *swimmed* (rather than *swum*), *dived* (rather than *dove*). There are, however, some analogical formations in vernacular varieties of English (on East Anglia, see Trudgill 2008b: 405–406 [2.6]), for example *bring* : *brang* : *brung*, probably on the model of *sing* : *sang* : *sung*.



**structural transfer** A process in a language contact situation in which features of the grammar of one language are transferred to another language usually by partially bilingual speakers, for instance the use of the progressive in the imperative in Irish English as in *Don't be complaining all the time* is probably due to transfer from Irish.

**structuralism** A type of linguistic analysis which stresses the interrelatedness of all levels and sub-levels of language. It was introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century by Ferdinand de SAUSSURE (1857–1913) as a deliberate reaction to the historically oriented linguistics of the nineteenth century and subsequently established itself as the standard paradigm until the 1950s when it was joined, if not replaced, by generative grammar.

**structure** A network of connections between elements of a system; for instance, syllable structure is the set of relations which exist between parts of a syllable, grammatical structure is the set of relations between elements of a sentence.

**STRUT lexical set** A set containing the vowel which arose through the lowering and unrounding of Early Modern English /ʊ/ in the mid seventeenth century in the south of England (see Dobson 1968 [1.5]). Examples are *but, bud, cut, cud* and also many words with the stressed vowel written < o > before < n, m, v >, for example *done, come, love*. The STRUT vowel is generally [ʌ] though variants are found across the anglophone world. Significantly, this lowering did not take place in the north of England so that there the lexical sets FOOT and STRUT show the same vowel. This also applies to vernacular Dublin English but not to any variety of English outside England and Ireland.

**stuttering** See SPEECH DISORDER/ SPEECH DEFECT.

**style-shifting** A process whereby speakers move temporarily to another style, frequently to a more vernacular one, for a particular effect, for example to render their speech more colloquial for a moment, as in *Why don't the rest of yez* [jiz / jiz / jəz] *have a drink?* where the local Irish form *yez* is used rather than *you*. Successful style-shifting is possible if speakers know what the forms of the vernacular spoken in their area are and can use them in appropriate contexts. Style-shifting (downwards) is not normally stigmatized as long as one's interlocutors know the vernacular is not one's only mode of speech. The term can also be used in a more general sense to refer to shifting from any one style to another and not just to a vernacular mode.

**stylistics** The investigation of differences in style which are found among individuals or groups in either spoken or written language.

**subcategorization** A reference to the specification of restrictions on the use of lexical elements in sentence structures; that is, it marks words as belonging to some subcategory or word class, for example transitive or intransitive verbs.

**subject** The constituent of a clause which is the primary complement of the verb and about which something is said, for example *speaker* in the sentence *The speaker was nervous*, or who carries out the action of a verb, for example *The speaker dropped the microphone*.

**subject, dummy** A use of *there* to occupy the subject position in a sentence as in *There is no-one offering a syntax course this term* rather than *No-one is offering a syntax course this term*. The term is also used to refer to a semantically empty *it* as in *It's raining heavily right now*.

**subject, use of objective forms for** It is common to find that the objective form of a pronoun is used in subject position, for example *us* for *we*, *him* for *he*, and so on, as in *Us women have to put with an awful lot of bother* and *Him and his brother were at the pub last night*. More rarely, *her* – or *er* with deletion of initial /h-/ – is found for *she* (West Country English). Similar usages are also attested for the south-east of England, see Edwards (1993: 229 [2.7]).

**subject concord** The matching of subject with verb in present tense paradigms in varieties of English. There is variation across different varieties of English, indicated by the presence or absence of suffixal *-s* on verb forms, for example *They buys lots of beer at the weekend* (Irish English, non-standard concord). See VERBAL CONCORD, NON-STANDARD.

**subjective reaction tests** A type of test in which the informants are examined (consciously or unconsciously) with regard to their attitude to certain linguistic features or structures.

**subjunctive** A verbal category denoting uncertainty, doubtfulness or hypotheticality. Not all languages have a formal expression of this category, for example the Romance languages generally do, but English has only a few remnants, such as *were*, as in *I wish Fiona were here* (volitional subjunctive). The opposite to the subjunctive is the indicative which denotes factuality, for example *Fiona is here*.

**subjunctive, mandative** A use of the subjunctive, marked by the absence of verbal *-s* or by the use of *be* (instead of *is*) or *have* (instead of *has*), which has experienced a certain revival in present-day English, especially in more formal contexts. Examples would be *I suggest that she have time to reconsider her decision*, *We demand that he answer the question*, *I insist that you be on time*, *They requested that the plan be abandoned*.

**subordinating and** A syntactic feature of Irish English in which a subordinate clause (usually concessive or restrictive in nature) is introduced by *and* plus a continuous form of a verb, for example *They went for a walk and it pouring rain*. The structure is probably a calque on Irish, cf. *Chuaigh siad ar siúlóid agus é ag cur báistí*, lit. ‘Went they on walk and it at putting rain’. See Hickey (2007b [3.3]).

**subordination** A general reference to a relationship of dependence between two elements, units or phrases; for instance, a subordinate clause is one which is dependent on the main clause which it usually follows *He said [that she was tired]*.

**substrate** A language which is socially less prestigious than another spoken in the same area but which can nonetheless be the source of grammatical or phonological features in the more prestigious language; for example, Scottish Gaelic is a substrate in those areas of north-west Scotland where it is still spoken. Substrate influence is often quoted as being instrumental in the formation of PIDGINS and CREOLES and as being responsible for many instances of historical change. See CHANGE FROM ABOVE, BELOW.

**superstrate** A variety of a language which enjoys a position of power and/or prestige compared to another. It may be a standard form of a language or a different language from that found natively in a specific country or region. In all anglophone countries English is the superstrate irrespective of any other local languages which may be present, though there may be

internal differences; for example, French is the superstrate in Quebec but English is in the context of Canada as a whole.

**suppletion** A form in a paradigm (a set of morphologically related elements, such as the forms of a verb or noun) which etymologically comes from another source; for example, the past tense form *went* in English is not formally related to the verb *go*, or the comparative forms of *good*: *better*, *best*, where the last two ultimately have a different source from the first.

**supra-local varieties** A reference to varieties used beyond a single local community, often within a region in a country, such as the north of England, the south of the United States. Such varieties tend towards koinés and are simpler in structure than more local varieties as variation no longer fulfils an in-group function at a local level, that is it is no longer a manifestation of vernacular norms (Milroy, Milroy and Hartley 1994: 2 [1.3.2]).

**supraregional variety** Any variety used across different areas, frequently an entire country. It contrasts with ‘standard’ which refers to a codified, often written variety with a recognized and explicit social function in the country where it is found. A supraregional variety normally contrasts with a series of vernaculars at various locations within the country in question and often arises through the process of SUPRAREGIONALIZATION.

**supraregionalization** A historical process whereby features characteristic of vernaculars are replaced by more mainstream ones in the speech of non-vernacular speakers. The historical trigger for supraregionalization may have been the formation of an educated middle class with an attendant stigmatization of vernaculars seen as characteristic of the uneducated. The new features introduced by supraregionalization frequently derive from an extranational norm, for example the use of /i:/ for Middle English /e:/ and /ε:/ in the late modern period in Irish English, leading to words like *meat* now being pronounced [mi:t], as in southern English. Supraregionalization can lead to a lexical split if the vernacular and the non-vernacular pronunciation continue to coexist as has happened in Irish English with *old* [o:ld] and *owl*’ [aul] ‘old, but suggesting attachment and affection’.

Supraregionalization can show typical developments: (1) Vernacular features are replaced entirely by non-vernacular ones, for example SERVE-LOWERING disappeared from Irish English completely in the late nineteenth century. (2) Vernacular features are restricted to a specific phonetic environment, for example raising of /ε/ to /i/ has been confined to pre-nasal position (in the south-west of Ireland where it is still found). (3) Features are relegated to colloquial registers, cf. the example of *old* and *owl*’ just given. With supraregionalization an important consideration is whether or not there is an extranational norm which plays a role in the process (as with German in Austria or French in Wallonia, Belgium, for instance). Geographical proximity can, but need not be the determining factor: for speakers of Irish English, RP is not a model because adopting it would be regarded as unpatriotic (although historically some features of English English have been adopted). British exonormative models may play a role for countries which are separated by greater distance, for example New Zealand or Singapore. See Hickey (2012 [1.3.2]).

**suprasegmental** A reference to phenomena which do not belong to the single sound segments of language but which are typically spread over several segments, for example intonation, stress, tempo, and so on.

**Suriname** A country on the northern coast of South America between Guyana and French Guiana with an area of 164,000 sq km and a population of approximately 560,000. The capital is the port of Paramaribo with about 250,000 inhabitants. Dutch is the official language, a legacy of its colonial status as Dutch Guyana. The first European settlers (British who came from Barbados) arrived in the region in 1651. In 1667 the Dutch took control over the region. During the Napoleonic wars (1799–1818) Britain gained control for some time. The colony became independent in 1975. Apart from Surinamese Dutch, the most widespread language is SRANAN/Sranan Tongo, a English-lexifier creole with Dutch elements spoken by about 300,000 followed by Surinamese Hindi spoken by the descendants of South Asian labourers taken to the region in the nineteenth century. There are also creole varieties of English spoken in Suriname, for example NDJUKA, SARAMACCAN. See Migge (2003 [5.3.3.4]) and Migge and Légise (2012 [1.4.1]).

**survey, rapid and anonymous** A survey technique which William LABOV first employed for his investigation of New York English in the early 1960s. This consisted of briefly eliciting information from informants who were not aware that their speech was being observed. This was done by asking a question or two containing the sounds of interest, for example Q: Where can I find XXX? A: On the fourth floor (casual reply). Q: Sorry? A: On the fourth floor (more careful reply). See Labov (2006 [1966] [5.1.4]).

**Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects** A general survey of English in Wales which was conducted in the late 1960s and 1970s under the directorship of David Parry, University of Swansea. It was intended to record conservative rural forms of Welsh English and three volumes were published in 1977, 1979 and 1991.

**Survey of English Dialects, The** A large-scale survey, located at the University of Leeds, which was undertaken between 1959 and 1961 by Eugen Dieth and Harold Orton and published between 1962 and 1978. The *Basic Material* was published as a compendium of four volumes including informants' responses to questions in the interview. Further interpretative volumes were published based on the findings of the survey, for example the *Phonological Atlas of the Northern Regions* by Edouard Kolb in 1966 [2.10], *A Word Geography of England* by Orton and Wright in 1974 [2.1], and *The Linguistic Atlas of England* by Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson in 1978 [2.1].

**Survey of English Usage** An ongoing survey based at University College London which began in 1959 under the directorship of Randolph QUIRK and which collects samples of naturally occurring language for the purpose of linguistic analysis.

**svarabhakti** See EPENTHESIS.

**S-voicing** A process in which sibilants are voiced in intervocalic positions. There may be inherent variation across varieties of English, for example *Asia* with [ʃ] or [ʒ]. S-voicing may separate dialect regions, for example the pronunciation of *greasy* with [s] versus [z] which is a distinguishing feature of the American Midland from the South, see Montgomery (2004 [5.1.6]).

**Swahili [swa'hi:li] (Kiswahili)** A Bantu language spoken in large parts of East Africa (chiefly in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, southern Somalia and northern Mozambique) with

approximately 40 million speakers for many of whom Swahili is a second language. It functions as a lingua franca for many speakers and thus allows communication across many linguistic boundaries. Swahili has been heavily influenced by other languages, especially by Arabic from which it has borrowed many words. It first appeared in the twelfth century and was written until the nineteenth century using Arabic script. The basis for a standard form of the language was laid in 1928 when the Unguja dialect of Zanzibar was recognized as such and is the object of study of the Institute of Kiswahili Research founded in 1964. Swahili has been an official language in Tanzania since 1964 and in Kenya since 1970. It is also one of the four official languages in the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire).

**swamping** A not uncontested notion in variety studies that the numbers of settlers, particularly in the formative period, determine the type of dialect which is dominant at the new location, so that any minority groups will be ‘swamped’ by the majority and hence their features will in general not survive. See Lass (2004 [6.3.1.1]).

**Swaziland** A landlocked country within southern Africa bordered to the east by Mozambique and with an area of 17,300 sq km and a population of approximately 1.2 million of which about 100,000 live in the capital Mbabane. Swaziland has been independent from the United Kingdom since 1968. English and Swati are official languages. The latter, a Bantu language, is spoken by about 90 per cent of the population. There are also speakers of Tsonga and Zulu (other Bantu languages).

**swearing** The use of generally TABOO words or expressions to express anger, disgust, annoyance. Mild swear words can be used as expressions of surprise or indignation, for example *Shit, I won first prize in the competition*. Swear words and expressions have a long history in any language and may often take the form of a curse, for example *Bad cess to him!*, a type which is not common nowadays. Some swear words are confined to certain text domains, for example *zounds* (< God’s wounds), which is common in comics but not in spoken English. See INSULTS, RITUAL, SLANG.

**Sweet, Henry (1845–1912)** English philologist and phonetician. Born in London, he was educated in both England and Germany where he studied at the University of Heidelberg, thus coming in touch with mainstream German linguistics of his day. Sweet was interested in English philology and produced editions of Old English texts as well as a grammar and reader. He is also the author of books on phonetics and the history of English in general (*History of English Sounds*, 1874; *Handbook of Phonetics*, 1877; *A Primer of Spoken English*, 1890; *The Sounds of English*, 1908). He also developed a system of phonetic transcription, the *Romic Alphabet*, which was an important precursor of the INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET. Sweet was known to creative writers of his time, notably George Bernard SHAW, who acknowledged that he included elements of Sweet’s character in the figure of Professor Higgins in his play *Pygmalion*. See ELLIS, ALEXANDER; PASSY, PAUL.

**Swift, Jonathan (1667–1745)** Irish clergyman, scholar and writer. Swift was born in Dublin to English-speaking parents and was educated there and in London. He is a typical Anglo-Irish figure, active in English life and letters but based in Dublin. Swift had a heightened awareness of language and was generally conservative in his linguistic attitudes as expressed in his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712) where he

maintained that the best English was spoken from the beginning of the Tudor period up to the deposing of Charles II. Swift was also linguistically inventive, for instance devising names of fictitious people who occur in his best known work *Gulliver's Travels* (1726).

**switch-over** A situation in which speakers of language A change to language B, abandoning the former in the process. Historical examples are the change from Irish to English, Scottish Gaelic to English, and so on. Language contact does not necessarily lead to a switch-over as stable bilingualism may evolve or one of the languages in contact may be abandoned (French in late Middle English) or lost through assimilation of its speakers (Old Norse at the end of the Old English period) after possibly influencing the other language in various ways. *See* LANGUAGE CONTACT.

**switch-over accent** The accent of an individual who has moved from a vernacular to a non-vernacular accent. Such an individual often retains features of the original vernacular accent which are anomalous in the context of a non-vernacular accent. For instance, among speakers of non-vernacular Dublin English there are some with a switch-over accent who show GOAT-diphthongization and R-retroflexion (non-vernacular features), but T-glottalization/deletion (a vernacular feature), especially in casual, unmonitored speech.

**syllabic consonant** A consonant (usually a sonorant) which can form the nucleus of a syllable, for example the /l/ *kettle* [ketl̩]. These consonants are transcribed using a subscript stroke under the symbol in question.

**syllabification** The process of dividing a word into its constituent syllables.

**syllable** The most important structural unit in phonology. A syllable consists of a series of sounds which are grouped around a nucleus of acoustic prominence (usually a vowel). A closed syllable is one which has a coda; an open syllable has a coda-less rhyme: *got* /gɒt/ versus *go* /gəʊ/.

**syllables, deletion of unstressed** This may occur in style shifting downwards, with increasing informality, for example *because* > *'cause* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 364 [5.1]) or may lead to re-lexification of the reduced forms, for example Dublin English *ructions* 'uproar' < *insurrections*.

**syllable-timing** A reference to the prosodic structure of many background languages in Asia, and consequently to forms of English used by speakers of these languages. The key characteristic of syllable-timing is an approximately equal length of all syllables in a word and a resulting lack of stress on a particular syllable. Forms of English in South-East Asia (with Austronesian background languages) as well as many West African forms of English, so-called 'New Englishes', are syllable-timed as is Jamaican English. In the latter case this may be a retention from the speech of the original African population. *See* STRESS-TIMING.

**symmetry** A common feature of phonological systems whereby consonants appear in pairs, for example /s/ and /z/, /f/ and /v/, /θ/ and /ð/ in English. This symmetry in the sound system may be a reason why English has retained /θ/ and /ð/ although their functional load is light, that is they are not used to distinguish many words.

**synchronic** A reference to one point of time in a language. This may be the present but need not be. The term forms a dichotomy with **DIACHRONIC**. Structural studies of language are usually synchronic; on the contrary, the Indo-Europeanists of the nineteenth century were diachronic in their approach, this in turn affecting the approach adopted in early dialect studies.

**syncope** The deletion of unstressed vowels usually in the middle of a word or internally in a word group, for example *police* [pə'li:s] > ['pli:s].

**syncretism** The collapse of a grammatical distinction in a language, for instance the formal merger of the accusative and dative of Old English in the Middle English period.

**synonym** A word which is taken to have the same meaning as one or more other words. The collocations in which words occur may, indeed usually do, differ, cf. *cranium* and *skull* which are distinguished according to register: the former is a medical term, the latter an everyday one.

**syntagm** Any set of elements which can be strung together as a linear sequence, that is as a syntactic unit (phrase or sentence).

**syntax** The possible combinations of words in a language. The basic unit of syntax is the sentence which minimally consists of a verb and a noun and maximally of a series of clauses, possibly in a hierarchical relationship to each other. As it is concerned with whole words, syntax is 'above' morphology which examines the internal structure of words. Like other levels of language, syntax is governed by rules of well-formedness which specify which combinations are acceptable to native speakers.



# T

**taboo** A reference to words in a language which it is generally thought should be avoided. In Western societies such words are nowadays restricted to areas of intimate behaviour but formerly, and today in other parts of the world, different areas of language were and can be taboo, for example vocabulary associated with death or the supernatural. Words may become taboo in the course of time or, more frequently, taboo words may lose their special character and consequently their force. Taboo words can change across just a few generations, for example references to private bodily functions, as older taboo words lose their strength and become part of general vocabulary, cf. the common use of *shit* and *fuck* in colloquial forms of English across the world, for example *This car is just a heap of shit. That really fucked up the party.* See Allen and Burridge (2006 [1.3.5]).

**tag** (1) An element which is found at the end of a sentence and which frequently serves an interrogative function: *She likes linguistics, doesn't she?* (2) A label attached to a word in a linguistic corpus which classifies this form, usually according to word class. Such tags can be used by retrieval software to heighten the accuracy of search returns.

**tag, invariant** A reference to tags – in sense (1) above – which remain the same irrespective of the antecedent they refer to (*see INNIT*). Invariant tags are characteristic of many second-language forms of English or ‘New Englishes’, for example *He watching television, is it?* (SINGAPOREAN ENGLISH). In AFRIKAANS ENGLISH sentence-final *is it?* is common as an invariant tag (possibly a contact feature from Afrikaans), for example *He has to leave town – is it?* (Burchfield 1994a: 10 [1.5]).

**Tagalog** [ta'ga:log] A western Austronesian language spoken natively by about 25 million in the Philippines, mostly on the northern island of Luzon. Over 95 per cent of the population can speak Tagalog which became standardized after independence in 1946 and which is called ‘Filipino’ to reflect the name of the state. *See* PHILIPPINES, THE.

**tagging** The process – usually electronically automated or semi-automated – of putting a grammatical label on a word in a linguistic corpus. *See* TAG, (2).

**Taglish** A portmanteau term for Tagalog and English.

**Taiwan** An island state in East Asia, officially called *The Republic of China* (distinct from *The People's Republic of China*, the official title of mainland China) with an area of 36,200 sq km and a population of about 23.5 million of which about almost 7 million live in the metropolitan area of the capital Taipei. About 98 per cent of the population are Han Chinese and 2 per cent Taiwanese aborigines stemming from an original Austronesian population on the island. The name *Formosa* (from Portuguese *Ilha formosa* ‘beautiful island’) is not used now. The official language is Mandarin Chinese with some regionally recognized languages. English is used as a foreign language especially for international commerce and trade.

**Taki Taki** *See* SRANAN.

**Talking Proper** A study of the rise of pronunciation as a sociolinguistic symbol in English society. *See* Mugglestone (2007 [1995] [1]); *see* Lippi-Green (2011 [1997] [5.1]) for a similar study in the American context.

**Tamil** A Dravidian language with a long written tradition spoken probably by about 60 million people in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, where it has official status, and in the north and along the north-east coast of Sri Lanka. There are also considerable Tamil diaspora communities, for example in Malaysia and Singapore, in Mauritius and Réunion, in Canada, South Africa as well as in Fiji, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago.

**Tangier** A small island in Chesapeake Bay, Virginia with a population of just over 700 on an area of 3.2 sq km. It reputedly has a distinct variety of English due to isolation from its surroundings, though it is similar to Ocracoke Brogue found on other islands further south. *See* Wolfram & Ward (2005 [5.1.2]).

**Tanzania** An East African country south of Kenya and north of Mozambique with an area of 945,000 sq km (including Zanzibar) and a population of about 44 million, about 2.5 million of which live in metropolitan Dar es Salaam. The capital is now Dodoma in the centre of the country. Tanzania was formed by the federation of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 after achieving independence from the United Kingdom in 1961. Swahili and English are the main languages. The former is a Niger-Congo language with many English and Arab elements and functions as a lingua franca. The colloquial use of English has declined in recent decades. Most of the native inhabitants speak Bantu languages but the Maasai are a significant Nilotic group in northern Tanzania. The two largest ethnic groups are the Sukuma, Nyamwezi and Nyakyusa. There are also significant numbers of Indians, Arabs and Europeans. *See* Schmied (1985, 2008a, 2008b, 2012 [6.2]).

**tap** A sound made by flicking the tip of the tongue once against the alveolar ridge. It is commonly found as a realization of /t/ (voiceless) or /d/ (voiced) in American English in words like *writer* and *rider* [raɪrər].

**target** (1) The language which is being learned by second language learners; (2) the target language for a translation; (3) the position towards which the active articulator – typically the tongue – is moved during speech production.

**tautology** A repetition of some form or content, for instance *The building was completely destroyed*. Considered poor style by purists unless done for deliberate effect.

**tautosyllabic** Occurring in the same syllable; in *ten* [ten] and *tent* [tɛnt] the /n/ is contained in the same syllable as the vowel /ɛ/.

**taxonomic** A reference to linguistics in which the main aim is to list and classify features and phenomena. It is usually implied that few linguistic generalizations are made and little analysis is done.

**T-dentalization** The use of a dental stop for /t, d/, often in syllable-initial position before /r/, for example *trick* [tɾɪk], *drop* [dɾɒp]. Historically, the dental stop would appear to have varied with the corresponding fricatives [θ, ð] as spellings such as *burthen* (*burden*) and *murther* (*murder*) suggest. Dental stop realizations of /t, d/ can still be found in rural varieties of Irish English.

**Tejano** A reference to Texans of Mexican descent whose English may or may not show the influence of Mexican Spanish. See CHICANO ENGLISH.

**telegrammatic/telegraphic** A style of speech or writing in which only major lexical categories occur, that is grammatical words like articles are left out for the sake of brevity as in newspaper headlines, for example *Judge avoids issue*. See HEADLINESE.

**television** A matter of debate among sociolinguists is whether the media, specifically television, can be instrumental in the spread of linguistic change. Examination of young people engaging with a particular television programme in a Glasgow project showed that DH-fronting (the use of [v] for [ð]) was on the increase among innovators and early adopters of this change from the south of England. Non-interactive experiences of speech are essentially different from interactive ones and so caution is called for in drawing conclusions. In some specific, highly circumscribed situations, television could play a role in the dissemination of ongoing change. In Ireland during the 1990s new pronunciations of vowels along with retroflex [ɹ] and velarized [ɾ] spread very rapidly from Dublin to outlying locations several hundred kilometres from the capital (without affecting intervening rural varieties, see DIFFUSION, CASCADE MODEL OF). At the time there was one television channel, RTE (Radió Telefís Éireann ‘Irish Radio and Television’) and virtually all the female newscasters and continuity announcers had the new non-vernacular pronunciation of Dublin English. It cannot, of course, be proven that television was responsible for the spread. However, the appearance of advanced features in parts of the country far removed from the capital among individuals who did not have direct contact with Dubliners is difficult to explain otherwise (Hickey 2005 [3.3]). See Stuart-Smith (2006 [1.1.18], 2012 [1.1.18]).

**telic** Refers to a verb which has a clearly defined end point: *She read the book*. Atelic verbs do not indicate such a termination, for example *She spoke about her new job*. The term comes from Greek *telos* ‘goal’.

**Telsur** A project located at the University of Pennsylvania, under the guidance of William Labov which offers an overview of changes in present-day US English such as the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT. The information gathered in the survey fed into the *ATLAS OF NORTH AMERICAN ENGLISH*. Telsur is an abbreviation of ‘Telephone Survey’.

**tempo** The speed at which speech is produced. This varies from individual to individual. Furthermore, a slow style is usually associated with a more formal, careful style and quicker tempo characterizes colloquial speech.

**Tennessee Civil War Veterans’ Questionnaires** A set of documents, largely collected between 1915 and 1923, now housed in the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville. These consist of documents from 1,650 respondents who dictated their memories of life before, during, and after the Civil War (1861–1865).

**tense** (1) A reference to the point in time at which an action takes place from the stance of the speaker. Three common tenses, which are often formally marked on verbs, are past, present and future with the present normally the unmarked case. Languages may also have further divisions such as a remote past or a distant future and may use additional auxiliary verbs, to indicate these secondary tenses or indeed primary ones, cf. the future in English: *He will confess*. See ASPECT, MOOD. (2) A reference to the relative tension of the tongue when articulating a sound. It is assumed by phoneticians that long monophthongal vowels require more tongue tension than do corresponding short vowels.

**tense, zero inflection in present** The lack of *-s* in the third person singular is – in England – more or less confined to East Anglia (the *SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS* has this for Norfolk and Suffolk). It may conceivably be a convergence feature with input from the Low Countries (Trudgill 1998 [2.6]). It is also found in AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH.

**tense subdivisions** Varieties of English may have means to express degrees of anteriority. This is common in African American English which distinguishes between remote past with stressed *been* (see remarks in Labov (1998: 124–134 [5.1.10])) and recent past: *I done told you not to mess up* (= *I told you not to mess up*) versus *I 'been known her* (= *I knew her a long time ago*) (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 372–373 [5.1]).

**TERM lexical set** See NURSE-TERM DISTINCTION.

**termination** The final phase in language change. It is characterized by a slowing down of the change and may or may not result in it going to completion. Where change is complete, for example in the loss of initial /kn-/ and /gn-/ clusters, only the orthography may suggest the pre-change situation, cf. *know* and *gnaw* respectively. In other cases some candidates for the change may resist it, often for phonetic reasons, and not be affected before the change becomes inactive. For instance, /ʊ/ was lowered to /ʌ/ in seventeenth-century southern England, cf. *cut* /kat/, *tuck* /tʌk/. However, where the phonetic environment had inherent rounding, for example after labial sounds and before (dark, velarized) /l/ or /ʃ/, as in *pull* and *push*, this did not happen, hence the pronunciation of both these words with /ʊ/. See ACTUATION, PROPAGATION, S-CURVE and the discussion in Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968 [1.2]).

**TESL** An abbreviation for ‘Teaching English as a Second Language’.

**TESOL** An abbreviation for ‘Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages’.

**text** Any piece of written language which can be shown to have some unifying characteristics, for example a job application, a prayer, an advertisement, a linguistic article. Sometimes the term ‘text’ is taken to refer to spoken language as well.

**texting** A form of digital messaging which uses the telephone network (contrast this with EMAILING which uses the World Wide Web as does the Internet). Sending text via a telephone used to be done with the numeric keypad to type letters, usually by striking the digits a different number of times to access different letters of the alphabet. Because this is a cumbersome way of composing text, many abbreviations have been devised to save on the amount of time texting takes. This in turn has led to many complaints about the spelling of those who engage in texting, especially teenagers and young adults. More recent phones with touch-sensitive displays have a full keyboard to type text, but the abbreviations remain in use. See Crystal (2009 [1.1.17]).

**textlinguistics** The investigation of the structure and style of texts, that is of stretches of language which consist of more than a single sentence.

**T-form** A generic reference to those forms in systems of address which are used to express familiarity or intimacy, cf. *tu* in French, Spanish and Italian, *ty* in Russian, *Du* in German. It forms a pair with the complementary term V-FORM.

**T-frication** The process of not pronouncing /t/ with closure, that is without the tip of the tongue being briefly held against the alveolar ridge as it would be normally. The result is a fricative and is found in positions of high sonority: (i) intervocalically and (ii) post-vocalically/pre-pausally, for example *putty* [pʌʔi], *put* [pʊʔ]. This apico-alveolar fricative is a prominent feature of Irish English and may be taken further, resulting in T-GLOTTALIZATION, the next stage on a lenition cline (in east-coast urban vernaculars, Hickey 2007a, Section 5 [3.3]). See SLIT-T.

**T-glottalization** A feature of many vernaculars in Britain whereby /t/, outside syllable-initial positions, is preferentially realized as [ʔ], for example *putty* [pʌʔi], *put* [pʊʔ]. There may be phonotactic conditioning, for example [ʔ] post-vocalically/pre-pausally but not intervocalically, for example *putty* [pʌti], *put* [pʊʔ]. This distribution is typical of colloquial varieties intermediate between Received Pronunciation and Cockney (see ESTUARY ENGLISH). T-glottalization is also found in Scots, Ulster Scots and local Dublin English.

**theme** That part of a sentence which is the topic of interest and usually introduced at the beginning, for example *You know the car Fergal bought last month, it's been stolen*. See RHEME.

**thesaurus** A kind of dictionary which consists of words grouped according to similarity in meaning. The most famous such dictionary for English was compiled in the nineteenth century by ROGET and has been repeatedly updated and reprinted.

**TH-fronting** A reference to the realization of /θ/ as [f], a stereotypical feature of Cockney which has and is still spreading to urban vernacular varieties throughout Britain (Foulkes and

Docherty 1999: 11 [1]). This is also found in other varieties, such as African American English and southern American white speech (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 363 [5.1]; Green 2002: 117–119 [5.1.10]; Bailey & Thomas 1998: 87 [5.1.10]).

**THIN : THIS lexical sets** Two sets in which the initial sounds are historically /θ/ and /ð/ respectively. In syllable-initial position these sounds can be realized as stops, either dental or alveolar, depending on variety. Stops are common in second-language varieties throughout Africa and Asia, but also in native varieties in Ireland (and Newfoundland), Liverpool, New York and African American English. See TH-FRONTING, TH-STOPPING.

**‘Third wave’ sociolinguistic studies** A reference to studies of sociolinguistic variation in which individual style, rather than the realization of variables across social groups, forms the focus of attention. The emphasis here is on small groups of individuals rather than broad communities. The extent to which speakers use their styles of language to construct their social personae and forge their linguistic identity is a central concern of third wave studies. ‘Third’ in the name suggests that it follows the first type of class-based variationist study carried out by Labov in New York City and the second type of social network analysis by James and Lesley Milroy in Belfast. See Eckert (2000 [1.1.13]).

**Thirteen Colonies** A group of colonies established on the east coast of North America, primarily by English settlers but also by Dutch and Germans and some Swedish. The colonies began with Virginia in 1607 and continued until the 1730s when the group was established and under British control. It was these colonies which declared independence from Britain on 4 July 1776 and became the United States of America. The individual colonies were (in an approximately north to south order): Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

**THOUGHT lexical set** A set whose members stem from the mid open back vowel of Early Modern English. This has various historical sources; in *thought* it is /ɔ/ before /x/. Another is long Middle English /ɔ:/ as in *broad* where it was not raised to /o:/ (and later to /əʊ/ in RP); contrast this with *foal* /fo:l/ > /fəʊl/. Open variants of the THOUGHT vowel are found in traditional Northern English and in vernacular Irish English and by extension of the latter in Newfoundland, where the open vowel seems to stem from both English and Irish inputs to the province.

**‘Three dialects of English’** The title of an influential article (see Labov 1991 [5.1.2]) which proposed that regional dialects in the United States be divided into three main areas depending on how certain vowel shifts are manifested. Regional differentiation can be made on the basis of (i) the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT (found primarily in the Inland North), (ii) the Southern Vowel Shift (in the South) and (iii) the stability of the TRAP vowel and the presence of the COT-CAUGHT merger, this situation essentially defining the ‘Third Dialect’ (McElhinny 1999 [5.1.2]), covering a very large area from the east to the west (New England, western Pennsylvania, the west of the United States and Canada). This area was once thought to be fairly homogenous but is now considered more internally differentiated. The inclusion of Canada in the ‘Third Dialect’ area was contested by Canadian scholars, first by Clarke, Elms & Youssef (1995 [5.2]), later confirmed by Boberg (2005 [5.2.5]), who pointed out that

while Canadian English has the COT-CAUGHT merger it has its own set of vowel shifts, especially the lowering of short front vowels.

**TH-stopping** There are varieties of English, as far apart as Caribbean English, Newfoundland English and Irish English in which the fricatives /θ, ð/ are realized as stops, that is [t̪, d̪] or [t, d]. There may be a significant distribution according to syllable position with more stop realizations in onsets. Where this strengthening exists, speakers may show a dental articulation when the stop is followed by /r/ as in *through* [t̪ruː]; palato-alveolar affricate realizations also occur in this context, for example *through* [tʃruː]. In African American English the stop realization seems to apply only to the voiced segment, for example *these* > *dese* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 81 [5.1]).

**Tidewater accent** An accent which is found in the Tidewater region of south-east Virginia and also in parts of Maryland and Delaware to the north and the Outer Banks of North Carolina to the south. The accent is non-rhotic and has centralized starting points for the vowels in the MOUTH lexical set. *See* OCRACOKE BROGUE, TANGIER.

**ties, weak and strong** A reference to the ties which members of social networks have with each other. In addition to being strong or weak they can also be simplex or multiplex, depending on whether a single tie is to another person or several people. Weak ties are regarded as typical of middle-class and strong ties of working-class speakers. *See* L. Milroy (1987 [1980] [1.1.12]).

**Time Magazine Corpus** A corpus of some 100 million words consisting of issues of the *Time* magazine from 1923 to 2006. It was compiled and is maintained at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

**tip** *See* APEX, (1).

**TJ-coalescence** The realization of the sequence /tj/ as an affricate [tʃ], for example *tune*, *Tuesday* with [tʃuː]. This is common in many varieties in England, including modified varieties of RP, *see* ESTUARY ENGLISH.

**TMA (*tense/mood/aspect*)** The three main axes along which verbs can make distinctions. Not all of these are equally well represented in a given language. For instance, the tense system is extensive in Romance languages but Germanic languages only have a past and present tense with the future formed with the help of modals. *See* Comrie (1975 [1.6], 1976 [1.6]). *See* ASPECT, MOOD, TENSE.

**TOEFL** A registered trademark which stands for ‘Test of English as a Foreign Language’. The TOEFL test measures the ability of non-native speakers of English to use and understand English as it is spoken, written and heard in academic settings. It is an internationally accepted measure of academic proficiency in English.

**Tok Pisin** An English-derived pidgin spoken by about 2 million people in Papua New Guinea, particularly around the capital Port Moresby. Tok Pisin is an official language in that country along with English and Hiri Motu (another pidgin). It is also spoken by about 100,000 people for whom it is their first language and hence a creole. It acts as a lingua franca



in this linguistically highly complex country (PAPUAN LANGUAGES). Historically, it is derived from forms of pidgin English used in the South-West Pacific region during the nineteenth century. See Romaine (1992 [8.3.1]) and MELANESIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH.

**Tokelau** A Polynesian overseas dependent territory of New Zealand in the South Pacific consisting of three coral atolls with an area of 10 sq km and a population of approximately 1,400. The islands became a British protectorate in 1877 and in 1926 their administration was transferred to New Zealand. With the Tokelau Act of 1948 it became a territory of New Zealand. Tokelauan, an Austronesian language, and English are official languages.

**token** See TYPES AND TOKENS.

**TOMORROW/ORANGE** A pair of lexical sets used by American scholars, see Gordon (2008: 73 [5.1.4]) and Thomas (2008: 105 [5.1.9]) to discuss vowel realizations across American English dialects. In TOMORROW the /r/ is followed by an open syllable whereas in ORANGE this is not the case. In New York English this difference is irrelevant (Gordon 2008: 73 [5.1.4]) and unrounded [ɑ] is used in both cases. For Southern dialects Thomas (2008: 105 [5.1.9]) notes that there is a trend to use the higher [o] vowel in the ORANGE set, that is before /r/ when followed by a closed syllable.

**tone language** Any language in which variations in pitch have semantic significance, that is are used to distinguish meanings. This principle is found in many languages of Africa and East Asia. In such languages words may be segmentally the same but distinguished by tone only.

**Tonga** A Polynesian island nation in the South/South-West Pacific, due north/north-east of New Zealand and east of Fiji, with an area of 748 sq km and a population of about 105,000. It became a British protectorate in 1900 and remained so until 1970. English and Tongan (Austronesian) are the main languages. The country consists of 176 islands, 52 of which are inhabited.

**tongue** The most frequently used active articulator in all languages. The tongue can be divided into the following areas: the tip (Latin *apex*), blade (Latin *lamina*) and back (Latin *dorsum*). The distinction between tip and blade is important for the production of dental and alveolar sounds. The tongue may also show a groove, for instance with palato-alveolar fricatives such as /ʃ, ʒ/. The tip can be made to roll in the escaping airstream as is the case with the apical rolled /r/ of many Romance languages, in southern varieties of German, in standard Swedish, and so on. The root of the tongue can be retracted in order to achieve a constriction of the larynx as with the so-called ‘emphatic’ sounds of Arabic.

The word ‘tongue’ was formerly used to mean ‘language’ and could occur on its own. Nowadays, this usage has all but died out and if the word is found with this meaning then only when it refers to a specific language, for example *the Latin tongue* or in the fixed expression *mother tongue* ‘native language’.

**topic** The matter which forms the main interest in a sentence. Frequently this is highlighted by being placed at the beginning of the sentence. See following entry.

**topicalization** The additional highlighting of sentence elements, usually by mentioning them early on, that is by the process of fronting, using a CLEFT SENTENCE, for example *It’s off to*

*Canada she's going this summer.* In English a higher pitch can also be used to emphasize words in a sentence.

**Toronto** The capital of Ontario on the northern shore of Lake Ontario and the largest city in Canada with a metropolitan population in excess of 5.5 million. It is also highly diverse in its ethnic composition: apart from those of white European stock there are sizeable South Asian and Chinese groups in the city.

**Torres Strait Creole** An English-lexifier creole spoken on the Torres Strait Islands, between the Cape York peninsula (Queensland, Australia) and Papua New Guinea, by about 25,000 people. It would appear to have arisen in the middle of the nineteenth century and has similarities to Pijin (Solomon Islands), Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea) and Bislama (Vanuatu) which in turn are related to MELANESIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH.

*Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, A* See DEFOE, DANIEL (1659/1661–1731).

**trade language** Another term for a pidgin used in restricted trade situations, usually in the colonial period (roughly the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century).

**Trade Triangle** A reference to the roughly triangular shape of the routes taken by ships from Britain in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These ships left Britain and travelled down to West Africa with certain goods such as arms and munitions, picked up slaves which they bought from local leaders and took them to the New World via the notorious MIDDLE PASSAGE across the central Atlantic. The slaves were sold in the Caribbean and later in the southern United States. The ships were then used to transport the products of these regions, chiefly sugar, tobacco and cotton, back to Britain, completing the triangle.

**traditional dialect** A reference to a dialect which has not been subject to high degrees of contact in its history, which is usually found in rural areas and which retains more conservative forms of speech. This contrasts with urban forms of speech which often exhibit fewer traditional features but which may have other unique characteristics. See NON-VERNACULAR.

**transcript** A document which represents the written form of spoken material. A transcript can be an approximate or a verbatim (literal) rendering of the spoken record. The OLD BAILEY TEXTS is a typical example of a collection of transcripts.

**transcription** A system for representing sounds in writing unambiguously. For phonological purposes a broad transcription is sufficient as long as the systemic distinctions in the particular language can be recognized. A narrow transcription is more typical of phonetics and may also be sometimes necessary in phonology where phonetic detail is important for an analysis. In English it is sufficient to transcribe /r/ as [r], although a narrow transcription would demand [ɹ] as strictly speaking [r] refers to an apical trill as in Spanish *perro* [pero] 'dog'.

**transition zone** A region which lies between two identifiable dialect areas and which shows features from both of these. A transition zone is usually a relatively broad band, for example

the Midland region between the south and the north in the eastern half of the United States. More sudden transitions can also be found, for example major rivers or mountain ranges.

**transitive** A reference to a verb which takes a direct object. Such verbs typically indicate a result, for example *Fiona sold her old car*.

**transmission vs diffusion** A distinction in principle between two means by which language passes between generations/speakers. With transmission one generation acquires its language from a preceding one in early childhood and in the process it masters complex community-internal norms. With diffusion language is passed between groups due to contact, largely among adults. This leads to transfer of structure between languages and imperfect acquisition which can in turn result in reanalysis of internal structures and a realignment of linguistic norms. See Labov (2007 [1.2]).

**transparent** A reference to a process or form which can be understood without any additional information. For instance, *water sports* is transparent to speakers of English but *aquatic sports* is not unless they have explicitly learned the meaning of *aquatic* (< Latin *aqua* ‘water’). Another example would be *hussy*, a reduced form of ‘housewife’ which, because of loss of transparency, underwent a semantic shift to ‘unpleasant or immoral female’ with the transparent *housewife* being reintroduced into the language. The opposite of transparent is OPAQUE.

**transportation** The historical process by which forms of English, from various parts of the British Isles, were carried to various locations outside Europe as part of the colonialization initiated by England, essentially between the early seventeenth and the late nineteenth centuries. Transported varieties can show any of a number of different developments:

1. Features are not continued, for example [ʊ] in the STRUT lexical set, by northern English speakers.
2. Features are continued more or less as they were at source, for example inter-dental fricatives in South African, Australian and New Zealand settler English.
3. Features are reanalysed and reallocated achieving a distribution and possibly a sociolinguistic significance which they did not have, or which they later lost, at source, for example (i) double modals in Appalachian English which have now virtually disappeared from northern and Scottish varieties of English, (ii) raised short vowels in South African or New Zealand English (these have been lowered in England since).
4. Features may survive without any noticeable reallocation and be lost at source; for example, velar glides as in *cat* [kjæt], *gap* [gjæp], were found in dialects of English in previous centuries and were transported to the Caribbean where they are still found.

These developments are often connected with the language/dialect contact situations in which the speakers in early colonial societies found themselves. See NEW DIALECT FORMATION.

**TRAP lexical set** A set whose members contain the reflex of Early Modern English /æ/, itself stemming from Middle English /a/. This vowel varies considerably across the anglophone world with raised varieties, showing [æ~ɛ], as well as lowered and retracted variants occurring, showing [a~ɑ].

**TRAP-raising** A tendency to pronounce the vowel in the keyword TRAP with a vowel higher than [æ]. This was a feature of standard varieties of English English until the middle of the twentieth century when a reversal gradually set in with a lowering of the vowel towards a value around [a] now being more widespread for supraregional southern English English. The origins of TRAP-raising would seem to go back to at least the eighteenth century. Prescriptivists like John WALKER mention it and it was part of the south-eastern English English input to the colonies of the Southern Hemisphere (South Africa, Australia and New Zealand) which have this raising as a prominent feature today (with some lowering in recent Australian English).

**TRAP-retraction** The pronunciation of the keyword TRAP with a central or retracted vowel, that is as [trap] or [trɐp]. This may in turn lead to a change in the pronunciation of other sounds, for example the velar /k/ which can be retracted to a uvular position with young non-local females in present-day Dublin, that is *back*=[baq]. Furthermore, TRAP retraction can trigger a chain shift with the lowering of the vowels in the DRESS and KIT vowels. See CANADIAN SHIFT, DUBLIN ENGLISH.

**Travellers** A group of ethnic Irish (not of Roma origin) who do not have permanent residence and who change location regularly. ‘Travellers’ is a neutral term for this group, ‘gypsies’ and ‘tinkers’ are derogatory, ‘itinerants’ is now outdated. In Irish they are called *locht siúil*, lit. ‘walking people’; the term ‘pavee(s)’ is sometimes used by travellers themselves but not by outsiders. Travellers have a long history in Ireland and are assumed to have developed the jargon SHELTA consisting of Irish words, often metathesized, which they used in dealings with non-Travellers. Because of the closed nature of the communities it is difficult to determine the extent to which Shelta is used today. There are probably about 40,000 Travellers in both parts of Ireland. Irish Travellers are also found in England and the United States.

**travelogues** A document recounting a journey. Such documents may contain references to language and hence provide information otherwise not available, see DEFOE, DANIEL (1659/1661–1731).

**Treaty of Paris** (1) A treaty signed by Britain, France and Spain in 1763 as a conclusion to the Seven Years War, also known as the French and Indian War, favouring the British as victors. (2) A group of treaties signed in Paris in 1783 by representatives of England and America and which concluded the American War of Independence (America also concluded treaties with France and Spain, known as the Treaties of Versailles). By the Treaty of Paris Britain lost the Thirteen Colonies which had previously been unilaterally declared the United States of America. (3) A treaty, signed in 1898, which concluded the Spanish–American War. By this treaty Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States and Cuba, nominally independent, came under American control. Guam in the Pacific and the Philippines also came under the political control of the United States (for a payment of 20 million dollars).

**Treaty of Utrecht** A treaty signed in the Dutch city of Utrecht in 1713 and which concluded the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1713).

**Treaty of Waitangi** In 1840 the British government negotiated this treaty with the native Maori population and, as a consequence, the way was opened up for large-scale English, Scottish and Irish emigration to New Zealand in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

**Trench, Richard Chevenix (1807–1886)** An Irish-born Anglican archbishop who in 1857 read a paper *On Some Deficiencies of Our English Dictionaries* before the Philological Society suggesting that a new dictionary be compiled for the English language. This was the initial impulse for work on *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* which later became *The Oxford English Dictionary*.

**trill** A sound produced by a rapid movement of the active articulator. This is most commonly the tip of the tongue – as with [r] in Italian – but it could also be the uvula or the lips, for example. The IPA symbol for a trilled /r/ is [r̄]; note that this is often used in BROAD TRANSCRIPTIONS for any type of /r/.

**Trinidad and Tobago** The southern most anglophone island group in the Lesser Antilles in the Eastern Caribbean, only a short distance from mainland Venezuela. Both islands were discovered by Columbus in 1498 and the Spanish settled there in the sixteenth century. In 1802 Trinidad was ceded to the British and Tobago became a British colony of the Windward Island group in 1840. In 1899 the two islands were unified and gained independence in 1962. Trinidad and Tobago has a total area of 5,100 sq km and a population of approximately 1.2 million, most of whom live on the much larger island of Trinidad whose capital is Port-of-Spain with a population of about 60,000. Approximately 40 per cent of the population is of South Asian origin (*see* INDIAN DIASPORA) with people of African descent representing about 37.5 per cent. English is the official language and acrolectal forms show features such as (1) non-rhoticity, (2) the absence of vowel length distinctions, (3) the use of initial stops in the THIN and THIS lexical sets. English in Tobago shows the use of a glottal stop for initial /h-/ , for example *house* [ʔaus], *how* [ʔau]. See Winer (1993 [5.3.2.4]), James & Youssef (2008 [5.3.2.4]), Youssef & James (2008 [5.3.2.4]).

**Tristan da Cunha** A volcanic island in the South Atlantic with an area of 98 sq km. Named after a Portuguese explorer who sighted the island for the first time in 1506, Tristan da Cunha consists of an English-speaking community of less than 300 people who all live in the settlement Edinburgh of the Seven Seas on a ledge on the north coast. The island is the remotest in the world and is over 2,400 km from ST HELENA. The first people to land on the island arrived in 1643. However, the settlement of the island did not begin until the early nineteenth century (1816) when British soldiers were stationed there while Napoleon was held captive on St Helena. The present-day islanders are descendants of this original group and of some sailors from whaling ships as well as of non-English speakers from a few other sources. The central volcano on the island erupted in 1961 and the inhabitants were evacuated to England. The great majority returned to the island in 1963 after the volcano had become dormant again. Today it is part of the British Overseas Territory of Saint Helena, Ascension and Tristan da Cunha.

English in Tristan da Cunha shows a number of features which in their sum are not characteristic of just one input source. For instance, T-GLOTTALIZATION is common as is an initial intrusive /h/, cf. *highland*, *happle* for *island*, *apple*, indicative of a south-east English input. SERVE-LOWERING in words like *first* or *herb*, that is ‘farst’ and ‘harb’ respectively, would point to East Anglia. Grammatical features such as the omission of tense and possessive inflections and the lack of copulative *be* are in fact more typical of pidgins and creoles. An habitual with *do+be*, as in *when I come back from the factory at night I do be tired* (Schreier 2004 [6.4.1]) is reminiscent of Irish English. See Schreier (2003 [6.4.1], 2004 [6.4.1]).

**Trudgill, Peter (1943– )** An English sociolinguist who is noted for his investigation of class-differentiated speech in Norwich in East Anglia. Trudgill successfully demonstrated that solidarity among the lower classes is a major motivating factor in maintaining non-standard forms of language. He has also worked on New Dialect Formation, dialect contact and sociolinguistic typology.

**truncation** The process of cutting off some element(s) from a word. This may be a regular process in word-formation as with clippings, for example *info* from *information*.

**TRUSTED lexical set** A reference to the unstressed short vowel in this and similar words which can be realized as [ɪ] or [ə]. Non-local forms of southern English favour [ɪ] but other varieties, notably Australian and New Zealand English, have [ə] which may be related to Irish/ Scottish input in the formative anglophone years of these countries.

**Tsonga** [tsɒŋga] A Bantu language spoken by about four million people, mainly in southern Mozambique, eastern Gauteng (former Transvaal in South Africa) and neighbouring areas of Zimbabwe. It is an official language in South Africa and has been influenced lexically and phonologically by ZULU.

**Tsotsitaal** A collective term for various jargons spoken during the apartheid period in the townships of South Africa, above all in Gauteng (part of the former Transvaal, including the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria). The jargons were often associated with street and neighbourhood gangs (*tsotsi* is Sesotho slang for ‘thug, thief’). See FLYTAAL/FLAAITAAL.

**Tswana** A Bantu language spoken by about 6 million people mainly in Botswana and South Africa. It is an official language in both these countries and exists in many different forms. Tswana is a tone language. Kgatla is the name of the dialect which serves as a standard in South Africa.

**T-tapping** Reference to a sound made by flicking the tip of the tongue once against the alveolar ridge. It is commonly found as a realization of /t/ in American English, for example *writer* [raɪrər], *water* [wɔːrər].

**T-to-R** A feature of many dialects in England including those of the east and west Midlands and of the north (Clark & Watson 2011 [2.10.1]) as well as of local Dublin English (Hickey 2005 [3.3]) whereby an intervocalic /t/ can be shifted to [r] as part of a weakening process. Normally, local Dublin English speakers have T-glottalization, T-tapping or T-deletion intervocalically. However, after a stressed vowel and before a further closed syllable [r] can be found as in *get up!* [ˈgɛrʊp].

**Turks and Caicos Islands** A British Overseas Territory consisting of two groups of 30 islands and cays north-east of the eastern end of Cuba. They have a total area of 430 sq km and a population of about 45,000. English is the official language. In 1765 the islands were linked with the Bahamas and with Jamaica in 1848. When Jamaica became independent the islands were again associated with the Bahamas. In 1972 the Turks and Caicos Islands became a British colony by local choice. See Holm (1994 [5.3]).

**turn** See TURN-TAKING.

**Turner, George William (1921–2003)** Australian scholar and lexicographer, born in New Zealand and educated there and in London. He is the author of *The English Language in Australia and New Zealand* (1966) and a revised edition of the *Australian Pocket Oxford Dictionary* (1987).

**Turner, Lorenzo Dow (1895–1972)** American linguist known for his seminal work on the African background to the creole spoken on the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia. This he traced successfully in his book *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949).

**turn-taking** In any discourse the act of changing the topic of conversation. There are certain devices used to do this as in *By the way, I met Fergal yesterday* or *Listen, we must consider Fiona as well*.

**Tuvalu** An independent Polynesian nation in the South Pacific formerly known as the Ellice Islands consisting of several atolls with an area of 26 sq km and a population of approximately 11,000. The islands were annexed by Britain in 1892 as part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Protectorate and became a Crown Colony in 1916. In 1974 the islands were separated from the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati, with a Micronesian population). In 1975 the islands were renamed Tuvalu and became independent from Britain in 1978. Tuvaluan, an Austronesian language, is official but English is widely spoken.

**T-V distinction** See T-FORM, V-FORM.

**twang, nasal** A popular reference to the nasalization of vowels realized by lowering the velum somewhat during their articulation.

**Tyke** A term for vernacular YORKSHIRE speech.

**Tyneside** A term referring to the conurbation centring around NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE and Gateshead in the north-east of England and to varieties of English spoken there. See GEORDIE.

**types and tokens** A type refers to the unique words in a text whereas a token refers to those which are non-unique, for example there are 6 types – but 8 tokens – in the following sentence: *The young girl spoke to the older girl* because the words *the* and *girl* occur twice.

**typology** The description of the grammatical structure of language independently of possible genetic relationships. There are many commonalities between languages which result from long-term contact and/or from independent structural principles of language. Languages which occupy a geographically delimited area, for instance the Balkans, may come to share structural properties, irrespective of historical background or genetic affiliation.



# U

**/u/, fronting of** (1) A widespread feature in many varieties of English (in Britain, North America and Southern Hemisphere varieties) which involves the shift forward of the articulation of /u:/, often with a degree of unrounding; an extreme value for this would be [y:], a fully fronted vowel (with variable rounding). (2) A feature of Scottish origin to be found widely in the Central Belt of Scotland and Northern Ireland is the realization of /u/ as a tense mid high vowel [ʊ] (Harris 1984: 118–119 [3.3]). This can be shortened slightly which leads to homophones like *fool* and *full*, both [fʊːl] phonetically.

**/u/, reflexes of Early Modern** Early modern /ʊ/ was shifted to /ʌ/ in the south of Britain in the seventeenth century, but retained in the north, though Scotland also has the shift by adoption of the southern pronunciation (Lass 1987: 257 [1.5]; Aitken 1984: 98 [3.1]). This fact can probably explain why overseas varieties of English do not show /ʊ/, although they may have had Scottish and/or Ulster input, for example to eighteenth-century American English. The phonetic value of the lowered vowel may vary greatly, for example /ʌ/ may be near to present-day RP [ä] or more retracted, like (southern) Irish English [ä] or show rounding as with many second-language varieties of English, for example in Africa, or recently in the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT. The lexical distribution of /ʌ/ may also differ with an extension beyond the normal distribution to include words like *pull*, *bush*, *could*, *should*, and so on (recessively in northern Irish English).

**/u:/ shortening before velars** In the history of English there has been a gradual replacement of long /u:/ by short /ʊ/ in many words depending on the following consonant (Barber 1997 [1976]: 313 [1]). Words with final alveolars were the first to experience this shortening, for example before /t/ : *foot*, *soot*, before /d/ : *stood*, *hood*, *good*. Before velars this also occurred, for example *took*, *shook*, *look*. In conservative varieties, such as forms of Irish and Scottish English, this change may encompass a smaller set of words than in standard English, for example *cook* may occur with a long vowel, that is /ku:k/, as may *book*, that is /bu:k/.

**Uganda** An East African country on the northern shore of Lake Victoria. 236,000 sq km with a population of about 32 million, it was a former colony of Britain before independence in 1962. The capital is Kampala with about 1.7 million inhabitants. English is the official language but a large number of native Bantu languages are spoken most of which belong to the Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Congo groups. There were also many Indians who came to the country in the nineteenth century and who were mostly speakers of Gujarati and Hindi. The Asians were expelled in the early 1970s and most of them settled in England.

**Ullans** A term for (literary) Ulster Scots which has been formed on analogy with Lallans, the Lowland Scots term for itself. It is also the name of a journal.

**Ulster** Historically, one of the four provinces of Ireland, the remaining three being Connacht in the west, Munster in the south and Leinster in the east. ‘Ulster’ is often used synonymously with Northern Ireland, a constituent part of the United Kingdom which came into existence in 1922 with independence for the rest of Ireland. However, Northern Ireland only encompasses six of the nine counties of the province (the other 26 counties form the Republic of Ireland). The remaining three counties of Ulster – Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan – are linguistically part of the north which can be divided into three main linguistic areas with Belfast both an amalgam of different strands and an area of its own (Milroy 1981 [3.3.1]). The two main linguistic divisions in Ulster are (i) ULSTER SCOTS and (ii) Ulster English which is derived from speakers largely from the north of England. There is also a transition zone along the southern border of Ulster with the Republic of Ireland.

**Ulster Scots** The language of the descendants of seventeenth-century Scottish settlers in the coastal regions of north and north-east Ulster. Much assimilation and mixing has taken place in the past few centuries, especially in cities like Belfast. Hence, it can be difficult to delimit Ulster Scots from other varieties of English spoken in the province. There are some obvious Ulster Scots traits, for example retroflex /r/, vocalized syllable-final /l/, the deletion of intervocalic /-ð-/ (as in *Northern* [nɒ:əɪn] *Ireland*), a lack of phonemic vowel length (see SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE), a high central vowel /ʊ/, and much variation in the TRAP lexical set. These features are taken to stem from the speech of the original Lowland Scots who, along with northern English settlers, moved to the province in the seventeenth century. However, they have spread to other varieties spoken outside the Ulster Scots core areas. Even such a typical feature as *-nae* for modal verbal negation is frequent in other areas, for example in Derry, cf. *cannae* ‘cannot’.

Ulster Scots was also transported to North America in the eighteenth century when up to a quarter of a million people emigrated to the inland regions of the east coast of the later United States, providing linguistic input to emerging varieties, especially APPALACHIAN ENGLISH. See Montgomery & Gregg (1997 [3.3.2]), Montgomery (2001 [5.1.1]).

**Ulster Scots Agency** An agency in Belfast devoted to the promotion of Ulster Scots culture and language which was set up in 1998 as part of an agreement between Ireland and the United Kingdom (the Good Friday Agreement or Belfast Agreement). Its name in Ulster Scots is *Tha Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch*.

**ultrasound tongue imaging** A means of tracking the articulation of sounds via photo acoustic images on a screen similar to the technology used in medicine. The images are generated

by an ultrasound transducer, a sensor which sends and receives signals and which is placed against an area of the lower face, usually under the chin.

**unbound reflexives** *See* REFLEXIVES, EMPHATIC USE OF.

**undershoot** A phenomenon in phonetics whereby an articulation is not fully carried through, for example when a sound is in an unstressed syllable, as in *reason* ['ri:zən], or in a low prominence position in a sentence, as in *I want to go home* [ɪgə 'həʊm]. This can be established in a language and become characteristic of careful pronunciations as occurred in the history of English when short unstressed vowels became permanently reduced to schwa, for example *about* [ə'baʊt].

**Unicode** A standardized means of representing virtually any letter or character required by the world's languages and additional alphabets such as the INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (IPA). Unicode uses two or four bytes per character which allows it to encode over 100,000 letters, symbols or syllabic characters (used in Chinese, Japanese or Korean, for example). There are different versions of Unicode; UTF-8 is common on personal computers.

**unique morph** Any morph which only occurs once in a language and whose form can thus be taken to be stored in the lexicon rather than derived through a productive morphological process, for example *rasp* in *raspberry* which only occurs in this word and which is furthermore bound as it does not occur on its own.

**United Kingdom** *See* ENGLAND, NORTHERN IRELAND, SCOTLAND, WALES.

**United States English** *See* AMERICAN ENGLISH.

**United States of America** A new designation chosen by the leaders of the THIRTEEN COLONIES on the declaration of independence from Britain on 4 July 1776. It has remained the name of the country since.

**universal** Any feature or property which holds for all languages; for example, all languages have verbs and nouns as grammatical categories. Universals are few and far between though near-universals, that is those which are good for the vast majority of languages, are more common and often more interesting in the insights which they offer concerning the nature of human language in general. Instances of the latter would be (i) nearly all languages have voiceless consonants, (ii) nearly all vowels are voiced, (iii) most languages distinguish gender for third person singular pronouns (though Finnish does not, for instance).

**universalist hypothesis** A theory of the origin of creoles which sees the innate predisposition to acquire language in a certain manner as central to the creolization process. For instance, creoles show certain prototypical syntactic structures (SVO word order, modifiers before heads, and so on) and have the preferred syllable structure CV.

**unmarked** (i) A reference to any linguistic form which is the most general and least specific of its kind. For instance, the present tense is unmarked vis-à-vis the subjunctive, the nominative vis-à-vis the genitive, the singular vis-à-vis the plural, a positive form (*clean*) vis-à-vis a negative

one (*unclean*), unround front vowels vis-à-vis rounded front vowels, and so on. Forms which are unmarked in this conceptual sense tend also to be formally less marked, that is the plural usually involves the addition of an ending, the genitive often has more phonetic substance than the nominative, and so on. (ii) The absence of a formal indication of grammatical categories with certain words, for example zero plurals in English such as *sheep* or *deer* are unmarked because they do not have a plural ending.

**unproductive** Refers to a process which is bound to specific lexemes and hence cannot be used at will by speakers; for example, the use of *-dom* to form a quality noun (*wisdom*, *kingdom*, *martyrdom*) is an unproductive process because it cannot be used for new instances. Unproductive processes can nonetheless be statistically common, for example irregular plurals in English because they belong to the core of the language and occur mainly with names of beings or parts of the body, cf. *man* : *men*, *foot* : *feet*.

**unreleased** A reference to a stop after which there is no audible release of air. Unreleased stops are a significant feature of American English but not of British English, for example *but* [bʌt̚] (many forms of American English) versus [bʌtʰ] or [bʌʔ] (forms of English English). The IPA symbol for a lack of audible release is a superscript top right corner bracket: ̚.

**unrounded** Any vowel which is not produced with noticeable rounding of the lips, for example /i, e, a/. There is a general correlation with relative backness such that back vowels tend to be round and front vowels to be unround across the world's languages. However, many European languages (but not English) have front rounded vowels, for example French, German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Hungarian.

**unstressed** A reference to a syllable which is articulated with less acoustic prominence than others. In a stressed-timed language, such as English, all syllables except those carrying the accent are unstressed. There may in addition be primary and secondary stress if two degrees of stress can be recognized for a language. Unstressed syllables tend not to be as distinct as stressed ones, cf. the first syllable in *about* /ə'baʊt/ and *after* /'ɑ:ftə(r)/, and are frequently lost through syncope, for example *camera* /'kæməɹə/ > ['kæmrə]. The unstressed short vowel in post-stress position can vary in varieties of English; for example, Australian English often has [ə] for [ɪ] in southern English English, cf. *trusted* [trʌstəd]. Caribbean and African varieties of English are often syllable-timed and thus do not have the same degree of reduction for stressed vowels as other varieties, for example *sister* [sista], *sofa* [sofa].

**upglide** A movement of the tongue at the end of a diphthong to a point higher than the beginning, for example the stereotypical pronunciation of words like *THOUGHT* in (rural) Southern American English with an [ɔ<sup>0</sup>] diphthong (Thomas 2008: 98 [5.1.9]).

**uptalk** See HIGH-RISING TERMINAL.

**urban dialectology** The investigation of speech patterns with city dwellers in deliberate contrast to the study of conservative rural speech which used to be common in dialectology until the mid twentieth century. Most of the insights of present-day sociolinguistics derive from studying the speech habits of urban populations.

**Urdu** See HINDI.

**us, singular** A vernacular usage whereby *us* is used where a singular object is intended. This is especially common with *give*, for example *Give us a break, will ya!*

**us, subject** A common feature of many vernaculars is to use the oblique pronoun form *us* as subject, for example *Us girls have to be careful*. Subject *me* is less common but does occur in compound subjects, for example *Me and Jack were in town last week*. In such vernaculars *I* only occurs in immediately preverbal position, for example *I spoke to her*.

**usage** A general reference to habits and patterns found in the speech of a community, spoken and written. Usage normally refers to the more common and usual forms in a variety.

**usage, presupposed versus specific** Whereas standard English generally determines article usage via the parameter definite/ indefinite, other varieties (SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN ENGLISH, various Asian Englishes) may use the criterion presupposed/ asserted, combined with a notion of specificity (Mesthrie 1996: 91 [6.3.1.5]). Examples are the following: (*The* >  $\emptyset$ ) *Food is lovely*. (presupposed + specific). *At the stall I bought one soda water*. (asserted + specific). *If they give us (a >  $\emptyset$ ) chance*. (non-specific).

**utterance** Any stretch of spoken speech, a sentence or a phrase. The utterance is the basic unit of pragmatics, speech act theory and discourse analysis.

**uvula** A lobe at the rear of the soft palate. The back of the tongue can form a constriction at this point as in the production of the uvular /r/ (= [ʀ]) of Danish, standard German or French, for instance. The sound can also be a fricative (= [ʁ]) on occasions, for example for emphasis.

**uvular r** The articulation of /r/ at the uvula. This was common in Northumbria in the north-east of England and called the Northumbrian *burr*. However, it is highly recessive in the region. In Ireland uvular *r* was very common, in both Irish and English, and is still found in the town of Drogheda (north of Dublin) and in many vernaculars of the east and south (Hickey 2004a [3.3]) as well as occasionally among Irish speakers.

# V

**Vallancey, Charles (1721–1812)** An English army general and Irish antiquarian. Born in Windsor to a Huguenot family, Vallancey came to Ireland in 1762. He speculated on the origin of the Celtic languages and in 1779 he established the Hibernian Antiquarian Society. In 1788 Vallancey published a glossary of the dialect of FORTH AND BARGY in Co. Wexford.

**valley girl talk; valley speak; valspeak** A term, popular in the 1980s, for the speech of middle-class females from southern California which supposedly contained many interjections such as *totally*, *whatever*, *oh my God*, *for sure* and the excessive use of *like*. The valley referred to is San Fernando Valley in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

**Vanuatu** An island nation of the South-West Pacific in Melanesia, north of New Caledonia and west of Fiji, with an area of 12,190 sq km and a population of approximately 225,000. The archipelago was visited by Europeans in the seventeenth century and in 1774 James Cook landed there and named the group the New Hebrides. From the 1880s onwards the British and the French jointly administered the islands which became independent in 1980, adopting the Austronesian name ‘Vanuatu’. The country has three main languages, English, French and BISLAMA, an English-lexifier creole. The native population also speaks a wide variety of Austronesian languages.

**Varbrul analysis** ‘Varbrul’ is an acronym of ‘variable rules analysis’. The term refers to statistical methods used in sociolinguistics to determine the probability of choice for a number of variables which are in so-called ‘free’ variation (not determined by linguistic context) but where social factors determine their occurrence. A dedicated software package by the Canadian linguist David Sankoff is available (in updated versions); this incorporates the statistical tests of variable rules analysis. See Tagliamonte (2012, Chapter 5 [1.1.1]).

**variable, linguistic** A term for a linguistic feature which in a given variety can vary in its realization, generally in a socially significant manner. For instance, intervocalic/prepausal /t/ is a sociolinguistically relevant variable in Dublin English showing the unstigmatized fricative realization [ɾ], for example *city* [sɪɾi], and a number of others which are confined to the vernacular such as [h], [ʔ] and [ɾ]. Much of modern sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the social factors determining the variation inherent in such variables. They are often written in round brackets, for example (r) in New York English, (th) in London English, and so on. See Tagliamonte (2012, Chapter 1 [1.1.1]); Chambers (2009 [1.1.1]).

**variable rule** Any rule which is dependent for its realization on external factors. For instance, the glottalization of intervocalic /t/ in English English, as in *butter* [bʌʔə], is dependent on the degree of formality of speech.

**variable word** A word which varies in its form according to grammatical category, for example the various forms of a verb or noun stem, such as *sing, sang, sung; tooth, teeth*.

**variant** A form which is one of a group of at least two which are the realizations of the same abstract unit; for example, /ɪz/ is the realization of the plural morpheme {S} when this occurs after a sibilant, as in *horses, bushes*. The other realizations are /s/, as in *hats*, and /z/, as in *cows*.

**variation, reanalysis of** Irregular variation in a language, such as that found with the verb *be* or the inflection of present-tense verbs in English, can often be the subject of reanalysis as in the following examples: (i) in south-west English (and Newfoundland English through inheritance from this input) the variation between inflection and its absence has been reanalysed as a function of the status of the verb in question. Auxiliary verbs do not show inflection, for example *He have used all the money up*, but lexical verbs do, for example *He has a new job at the factory* (Clarke 2008b: 498 [5.2.8]). (ii) In Appalachian English (Montgomery 2004 [5.1.8]), and in the American South in general, variation in present tense inflection is found, e.g. *They was workin' all day*. This goes back some considerable time and is determined here by the subject (noun or pronoun) and such factors as distance of the subject from the verb; this type of variation may well have its origin in the Northern Subject Rule (Ihalainen 1994 [1]); see VERBAL CONCORD. (iii) The past forms of *be* (Tagliamonte 1998 [2.10]) also show reanalysis in some varieties. Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2004: 23–24 [1.2.4]) state: ‘In most U.S. varieties, past *be* is usually regularized to *was*, as in *We was home* or *You wasn't there*. However, in the remnant communities considered here (Ocracoke Brogue, RH), we find an alternate pattern in which past *be* is levelled to *was* in positive contexts (e.g. *We was there*) but to *weren't* in negative (e.g. *I weren't home*). This pattern represents a remorphologisation of the two past *be* stems, such that *was* is now used as a marker of affirmative rather than singular meaning, and the *were*-stem is now used as a marker of negativity rather than plurality.’ See also Schilling-Estes & Wolfram (1994 [1.2.4]) and Wolfram & Thomas (2002: 69–77 [5.1.10]).

**variational pragmatics** See PRAGMATICS, VARIATIONAL.

**varieties, documentation for** Varieties can be documented in a number of ways. For present-day varieties, there are recordings of speakers often arranged as a structured corpus or atlas. For historical stages of varieties, the material may be fragmentary with many gaps in which case one speaks of ‘bad data’. Nonetheless, there are often different records which,



taken together, may allow one to make objective statements. The following list indicates some sources of historical documentation for varieties.

1. *Emigrant letters* People who emigrated wrote back home maintaining contact with relatives and friends. Because of this, letters from emigrants are available in archives today. Such material is usually non-prescriptive, that is written in a colloquial style without undue consideration of normative grammar. Hence it is a good source of information on varieties and, when used judiciously, can be useful for linguistic analyses.
2. *Personal accounts* There are also documents in which speakers offer personal accounts of their lives and experiences, for example accounts of life under slavery or in other adverse conditions.
3. *Court transcripts* The depositions of witnesses or accused persons in court are not normally written in the vernacular, but some verbatim transcripts by court clerks do contain dialect representations. *See* OLD BAILEY TEXTS.
4. *Dialect glossaries* From the seventeenth century onwards, antiquarian interest in dialect vocabulary can be observed. Collections of words from diverse regions of the British Isles are available and are often a good source of dialect material. Such material is almost entirely lexical, that is information about pronunciation and grammar is not normally included.
5. *Literary satires* Already with Chaucer (in the fourteenth century) one finds dialect representations used to characterize figures in literary works. This is true of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson in the Elizabethan era. Many satires contain figures from the Celtic regions, that is Irish, Scottish or Welsh characters, especially in drama from the seventeenth century onwards. The accuracy of such portrayals is often doubtful and there are limits on the linguistic features which can be represented using English orthography.
6. *Rhyming material* End rhyme, in poetry and sometimes in drama, can be a source of information on the pronunciation of vowels; for example, whether *eat* and *great* or *past* and *waste* were pronounced similarly for a particular author could be determined via end rhyme.
7. *Prescriptive comments* From the eighteenth century onwards there are many works in which authors complain about regional pronunciation and grammar. This is connected with the rise of PRESCRIPTIVISM, that is strict notions of what is 'correct' in language and what variety was taken to be socially acceptable, and by implication what other forms were not. Authors often cite supposedly 'incorrect' usage and thus inadvertently supply information about regional varieties of English in their day.

**varieties, endangered** A reference to any variety whose speaker numbers show a steady decline and which has reached a critical threshold. What this threshold might be is difficult to determine but certainly a variety spoken by less than 1,000 individuals is in acute danger. The disappearance of a variety usually happens (i) when speakers, who acquired it in early life, no longer use it or (ii) when individuals, who could have acquired it, do not do so. Such speakers usually switch to a dominant variety in their social environment or change to supraregional speech of the region and/or country they live in. Switching to another variety of the same language is normally gradual, that is speakers cease using salient features (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary) of the endangered variety and show preference for equivalents from the variety they are shifting to. Examples of varieties which were abandoned can be found in history, for example FORTH AND BARGY in the south-east of Ireland which gave way to general Irish

English of this area in the early nineteenth century. Present-day examples would include GULLAH (Montgomery ed., 1994 [5.1.10.3]) on the Sea Islands off the coast of Georgia whose speakers may use more general forms of African American English of the south-east and various traditional dialects of English on both sides of the Atlantic (Britain 2009 [1.2.8]; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1999 [1.2.8]) which are being replaced by more supraregional forms of speech.

**varieties, jocular names for** See JAFRICAN, MOCKNEY, MUMMERSET.

**variety** A term used to refer to any form of a language which can be sufficiently delimited from another form. The grounds for such differentiation may be social, historical, geographical or a combination of these factors. The necessity for the neutral term *variety* arose from the use of *dialect* with reference to the speech of an older rural male population. The term *dialect* is sometimes retained as a general term with *traditional dialect* used for the older, more restricted sense.

**velar** A reference to any sound produced at the soft palate in the back of the mouth, for example /k, g, x, ɣ, ŋ/.

**velar fricative** Either of two sounds which are produced with friction at the velum. The voiceless member of the pair is /x/ and the voiced one /ɣ/. The latter sound was lost during the Middle English period and does not survive in any first-language variety of English today. The voiceless fricative is confined to traditional forms of Scots and varieties of Afrikaans English.

**velar softening** A common process in English whereby a velar stop /k/ alternates with an alveolar sibilant /s/ as in *electric* : *electricity*. The alternation is found across word classes, for example when a noun is derived from an adjective, cf. *eccentric* : *eccentricity*.

**velarization** A type of secondary articulation where the root of the tongue is raised towards the back of the soft palate producing a characteristic ‘hollow’ quality, for example with [ɫ] versus [l].

**verb** One of the two major lexical categories – the other is that of nouns – which is used to express a state or an action. The set of inflectional forms of a verb is termed a *conjugation* (parallel to *declension* with nouns). Verbs are usually distinguished for person and number along with TENSE and MOOD and frequently for ASPECT as well.

**verb, strong** A traditional reference to a type of verb in Germanic languages in which a change in the stem vowel indicates the past tense and past participle, for example *sing* : *sang* : *sung*, *come* : *came* : *come*. This phenomenon goes back to Indo-European and is taken to be related to the pitch patterns of the original language.

**verb, weak** Any kind of verb which uses the suffix /d/ or /t/ (contrast VERB, STRONG) to indicate a change in tense, for example *bow* : *bowed*, *walk* : *walked*. Traditional dialects vary in the verbs which are conjugated as weak or strong, for example in northern English and in many forms of Scottish English verbs which are strong in the standard are weak, for example *sell*, *tell*, past: *sellt*, *tellt* (Miller 2008: 300 [3.1]).

**verb *be*, invariant** The use of *be* at points in a verb paradigm where another form would be expected, for example *We be hungry*, *They be young gentlemen*. This was common in many

historical forms of English before the present-day paradigm was fixed. Invariant *be* is often associated with specific semantics, for example to express habitual aspect in African American English.

**verb *be*, negative forms of the** There is variation among negated forms of *be*, for example *ain't* as in *They ain't interested*. *Ain't* can also stand for *have not* as in *I ain't got no money* in many colloquial forms of American English. In African American English *ain't* can furthermore stand for *didn't*. Contraction of *am* and *not* to *amn't* may be permissible, for example in Irish English. The forms *aren't* (< *are* + *not*) and *isn't* (< *is* + *not*) are contractions which are part of the standard.

**verb *be*, past tense regularization** The past of *be* is often found as *was* or *were* in all contexts. Remorphologization can also occur as in Ocracoke Brogue, Outer Banks, North Carolina where *was* is used in positive contexts and *were* in negative ones, that is the distinction between *was* and *were* is now aligned for positive or negative polarity (Wolfram & Thomas 2002: 69–77 [5.1.10]). Anderwald (2002: 17 [2.1]) offers a cognitive explanation for the remorphologization according to polarity, that is it offers marking of negation via the verb form, additionally to the negator *not*.

**verb endings in past** For certain weak verbs, with an alveolar stop in the past, there is for some speakers a semantic differentiation between the use of /-d/-*ed* (process) versus /-t/-*t* (result) as in *He spoiled his daughters* but *A spoilt brat*, *The timber burned for hours* but *Burnt timber*. In these instances the longer articulation of the voiced stop, as in *burned*, may be iconic of a process as opposed to the shorter voiceless stop, as in *burnt*, indicating a state.

**verb forms, distinctive past** Forms of the preterite or past participle can occur which are not necessarily available in the standard, for example /bet/ for *beat* or /lept/ for *leaped* in Irish English, as in *I was bet after all the work* (Harris 1993: 153 [3.3]), *telt* for *told* in Newcastle English (Beal 2008b: 375 [2.10]).

**verb forms, reduction in the number of** This can occur (i) through the generalization of the preterite for the past participle: *I haven't went to the races this year* (Irish English, Harris 1993: 153 [3.3]) or (ii) through the use of the past participle as a preterite, for instance with the verbs *see*, *do*, *come*: *I done the work*, *I seen him*, *They come to see us last week*.

**verb forms, weak for strong** There is a historical tendency in English (and other Germanic languages) to reduce the number of strong verb forms. For some verbs there is still a choice between strong and weak forms, for example *dive* : *dove* / *dived*. In other cases, dialects can go beyond the standard with levelling of strong verb forms such as *knowed* for *knew*. In a few instances, a strong verb paradigm may act as a model, for example *bring*, *brang*, *brung* for *bring*, *brought*, *brought* (on the model of *sing*).

**verb objects, variation with** Verbal objects can vary across varieties, for example a direct object may occur where a prepositional object is more usual as in *The accident happened [to > Ø] him on the way home*. In addition there is an increasing preference for direct objects, for example *He reported (to) me the following day*; *To appeal (against) this decision*; *The first to protest (about) the idea*.

**verb second** A reference to a rule in many Germanic languages which demands that the finite verb of a main clause be placed in second position in a sentence, for example German *Hoffentlich kommt er bald*, lit. 'Hopefully comes he soon'. This was more widespread in earlier English and is now only found in contexts expressing restriction, for example with adverbs (*Scarcely had he started to speak ...*) or adverbial phrases (*At that time appeared an important book, Only then did he decide to leave*).

**verb valency** Valency refers to whether a verb takes an object or complement and what type this is. It is an area of present-day English grammar in which much change has taken, and still is taking, place (see VERB OBJECTS, VARIATION WITH). For instance, the verb *hurt* has a transitive usage, as in *He hurt the dog*, but increasingly it is being used intransitively, for example *Too many elderly are hurting in today's society* 'Too many elderly people are experiencing hurt in today's society.' Animacy restrictions are also quite fluid, often with past participles, for example *This door is alarmed* 'This door is fitted with an alarm.' These changes can be viewed together with an increase in conversion (ZERO DERIVATION) of nouns to verbs, for example *He paused the recorder* 'He put the recorder on pause' and selection rules, for example *We must continue to grow our university* 'We must continue to achieve growth for our university.' See CHANGE, PRESENT-DAY LEXICAL.

**verbal concord, non-standard** The use of suffixal *-s* outside the third person singular is a prominent characteristic of many vernacular varieties of English. These vary in the extent to which the *-s* occurs. At least three determining factors can be recognized and placed in a hierarchy: (1) person and number of verb, (2) relative weight of subject (pronoun, noun, noun phrase), (3) syntactic distance of subject from verb. The ordering in terms of likelihood of occurrence varies across the anglophone world and parallels in a constraint hierarchy have been used, for instance by the linguists Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte, to demonstrate the historical relatedness of varieties. In some varieties the factors just listed do not seem to cause different inflectional behaviour; for example, in Tyneside singular concord is found with third person plurals, irrespective of the factors (1)–(3), see Beal (1993: 194 [2.10]). This also applies to forms of southern Irish English, particularly on the east coast, but in the north the bare plural pronoun does not use inflectional *-s* (Harris 1993: 155 [3.3]). Lack of concord can also apply to the past in the case of the auxiliaries *have* and *be*: *They was going to buy the house*. Non-standard verbal concord may have its source in British Celtic spoken in Northumbria, that is it may have originally been a contact phenomenon (Klemola 2000 [1.2.3]), or may be originally a feature of Scots which spread to English. Further south, different situations may obtain, for example generalized *-s* may be found as in the south-west (Ihalainen 1994: 214 [1]) or there may be no *-s* at all as in East Anglia (Trudgill 1998 [2.6]). In its northern form (Ihalainen 1994: 221–222 [1]) the subject concord rule was transported via Ulster Scots to the United States and continues in Appalachian English in a slightly altered form. Here the proximity constraint – see (3) above – has been lost but the type of subject constraint still applies (Montgomery 2001: 146 [5.1.1]). The concord rule also applies to Outer Banks English and is a legacy of transported Scots-Irish English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 90 [5.1]).

**verbal duelling** A type of linguistic behaviour where the participants attempt to gain a position of dominance and power by the skilful use of language. It is a part of the pragmatic behaviour of many African Americans.

**verbal play** Linguistic behaviour which is characterized by a playful use of language, in particular to produce additional meanings, via puns, and associations and thus to cause amusement. *See* VERBAL DUELLING.

**verbless phrase** A type of phrase which does not have a finite verb. Such structures are common in English to specify a setting at the beginning of a sentence, for example *Although exhausted, they continued working.*

**verbs, alternative auxiliary** Varieties may show the use of other verbs apart from *have* as auxiliaries, for example *come* as a quasi-auxiliary as in *He come talkin' real fast and all confused.* There may be a semantic differentiation here with *come* expressing disapproval (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 216–217 [5.1]; Mufwene 2001: 305 [5.1.10]). The use of *be* as an auxiliary is still attested in different varieties, for example Irish English, as in *I am finished the work* for *I have finished the work.*

**verbs of necessity** The complement taken by the verb *need* varies across varieties. In general a passive with an infinitive marker is found, for example *The car needs to be washed* or a gerund occurs, for example *The car needs washing.* However, in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Tyneside (Beal 1993: 200 [2.10]), and, due to transportation, in the Midlands of the United States, a bare past participle follows *need*, that is *The car needs washed.* This is also attested for Western Pennsylvania, probably as a relic of Ulster Scots speech from the eighteenth century (Montgomery 2001: 149 [5.1.1]).

**verbs with complementary meanings, confusion of** Many varieties as far apart as Irish English and South African English (Watermeyer 1996: 120 [6.3.1.2]) do not always consistently distinguish between verb pairs like *bring* and *take*, *rent* and *let*, *lend* and *borrow*, for example *Bring your litter home please.* In some cases one is dealing with a greater range for one of the verbs in a pair rather than true complementarity, for example *learn* which is often used for *teach* (also found in Shakespeare), for example *He learned him his language*, but not the reverse.

**vernacular** A cover term for popular, spoken varieties which are usually strongly localized and not influenced by a standard which might be present in the region where they are spoken. They are typically used by people who do not belong to the educated middle classes of a society and vernaculars do not necessarily have a written form though they may be (partially) represented using specially adapted spellings.

**vernacular norms** According to the linguists James and Lesley Milroy language usage is determined in vernacular-speaking networks by their own internal norms and not by public notions of a standard. These norms serve to maintain network identity and internal cohesion and govern the range of features found at any one time in a network with the possibility of change occurring through the introduction of innovations from outside. Vernacular norms are not explicitly codified (unlike standard varieties) and are transmitted orally across generations. *See* J. Milroy (1992 [1.5]).

**vernacular universal** A not uncontested notion proposed by the Canadian linguist J. K. Chambers (*see* Chambers 2004 [1.4.5]) which assumes that certain features occur across vernacular varieties of English without these being in contact or without there being a historical

connection. Such features are ‘universal’ in that they are taken to represent general tendencies of language development which are independent of contact or input. Examples suggested in the literature include negative concord as in *He isn’t going nowhere*, the regularization of verb conjugation patterns as in *He seen* (not *saw*) *his brother yesterday*, singular verb forms as default irrespective of semantics, for example *They was out all night*, or copula absence as in *Her brother Ø kinda smart*. See *ANGLOVERSAL* and Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto (eds, 2009 [1.4.5]).

**vernacularization** In synchronic terms, a process of style-shifting away from a supra-regional or non-vernacular variety. This is done when non-vernacular speakers adopt certain salient features of a vernacular for popular effect, for example the use of *youse* by Irish English speakers who do not normally have this form. Diachronically, the term refers to the relegation of features to vernacular varieties on their being replaced by more mainstream forms by non-vernacular speakers, for example the restriction of *bowl*’ [baul] and *owl*’ [aul] in Irish English to vernaculars on the adoption of *bold* and *old* in supraregional varieties of Irish English. Vernacularization can be accompanied by a lexical split, that is the vernacular and the supra-regional forms come to be distinguished in meaning, here *bowl*’ ‘sneaking admiration’, *owl*’ ‘affection’ (OL-DIPHTHONGIZATION). See *SUPRAREGIONALIZATION*.

**V-form** A generic reference to those forms in systems of *ADDRESS* which are used in formal contexts, cf. *vous* in French, *vy* in Russian, *lei* in Italian, *Sie* in German, *usted* in Spanish, and so on. This forms a pair with the *T-FORM*.

**Virgin Islands, British** The British Virgin Islands were settled by the Dutch in 1648 and British planters came in 1666. The islands lie west, north-west of the United States Virgin Islands and have a population of some 27,000 people, most of whom live on the main island of Tortola where the capital Road Town is located. The islands constitute a British Overseas Territory.

**Virgin Islands, United States** A group of islands in the Caribbean which belong to the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles. The main islands are St Croix, St Thomas and St John. Formerly the Danish West Indies, the islands were sold to the United States by Denmark in 1916. The population, just over 100,000, is very largely of African Caribbean stock and speaks Virgin Islands Creole as a vernacular. There are slight variations in this creole as spoken on various Virgin Islands (British and American) and on the neighbouring SSS islands – Saba, Sint Eustatius (The Netherlands) and Saint Martin (The Netherlands and France).

**Virginia Piedmont** An area of land in the eastern United States between the coast and the stretch of the Appalachians in Virginia. The region was known for a type of non-rhotic accent associated with the plantation class of the southern states. Vernacular speech of this area continued further south into the Carolinas.

**vocabulary** The words in a language. These are grouped into word fields giving the vocabulary an internal structure. The term *lexicon* is also used but the latter has at least three meanings: (i) the words of a language, (ii) the mental store of the words one knows, (iii) a dictionary.

**vocabulary, archaic or regional** (1) An obvious distinction between American and British English lies in the use of vocabulary. By and large American English retains older lexical



items recognizable in pairs such as the following: *autumn/fall*, *post/mail*. However, not all distinctions can be reduced to the distinction of older versus newer vocabulary: *cellar/basement*, *drive/ride*, *maize/corn*, *pail/bucket*, *porch/veranda*, *rubbish/garbage*, *tap/faucet*. (2) Current lexical items in a variety can derive from words no longer current in more mainstream varieties. For instance, in the creole Sranan (Suriname) the word *wenke* ‘young woman’ stems from the archaic form *wench* (Holm 1994 [5.3]). (3) There are cases where shifts of meaning or folk etymologies have arisen due to the misinterpretation of an original input. An example is Newfoundland English *hangashore* ‘useless individual’ from Irish *ainniseoir* ‘mean person’ with a hypercorrect, unetymological /h-/ (not uncommon, given /h-/ deletion in the West Country community on the island).

**vocabulary, borrowing of** Borrowing in the history of English is responsible for thousands of loans from Latin, Scandinavian and French, to mention only the more important sources. In overseas varieties of English, the borrowing of local flora and fauna terms is common, for example *kangaroo* (Australia), *kiwi* (New Zealand), *wildebeest* (South Africa), *wigwam* (America), *kayak* (Canada), and so on. Local folklore and customs may also play a role, for example *fufu* ‘dish of boiled vegetables’ in the Caribbean. In other cases, borrowing does not fill a lexical gap, hence the reasons for borrowing are more attitudinal, as with Caribbean *nyam* ‘eat’. However, there are a few instances of gap-filling borrowing, for example the Bantu pronoun *unu* ‘you.PLURAL’ which is used in this function throughout the Caribbean and which redresses the imbalance among second person pronouns in English (Hickey 2003 [1.6]). See BORROW.

**vocabulary, lack of morphemic analysis** If the internal structure of a word is not obvious to speakers then it may be treated as monomorphemic, for example *to married* ‘to marry’ or *to fishin* ‘to fish’ in Caribbean creoles (Holm 1994: 361 [5.3]).

**vocabulary, nautical** In pidgins and creoles there are a number of words which derive from nautical usage, for example *galley* ‘ship’s kitchen’ for kitchen in general, *cargo* for anything carried. The same is true in pidgins and creoles lexified by other languages. For example, Haitian Creole has *ralé* ‘pull’ from French *haler* ‘haul’, not from *tirer*, *isé* ‘lift’ from French *hisser* ‘hoist’, not from *lever*.

**vocabulary, new formations in** In the input to creoles many vocabulary items were missing and the gaps were filled by creations on the part of early creole speakers, for example *hand-middle* for ‘palm’ in Jamaican Creole (Holm 1994: 330 [5.3]).

**vocabulary, reallocation and extension** Reallocation is common where an English word came to have a different referent from that in the English input. In Miskito Coast (Nicaragua) the word *lion* refers to a local cougar and *tiger* to a jaguar. Extensions can occur where an item achieves a broader scope, for example *tea* in many Caribbean creoles refers to any hot drink (Holm 1994: 362 [5.3]).

**vocabulary and dialect boundaries** The distinction between dialect areas can be reinforced by the use of specific vocabulary items (and not just pronunciation and grammar). For instance, there are significant differences between vocabulary in northern and southern dialects in the United States: northern *pail*, *caves(trough)* versus southern *bucket*, *gutter* respectively



(Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 108–120 [5.1], Carver 1987: 11 [5.1.2]). Much of this work refers back to Kurath (1949 [5.1.2]) and initial studies such as Kurath (1939 [5.1.2]); see the discussion in Marckwardt (1980 [5.1]). The pronunciation of individual lexical items has been used to delimit dialect areas as is the case with the distinction between *greasy* largely with [-s-] in the northern and with [-z-] in the southern United States; see the discussions in Atwood (1953 [5.1.3]) and Hempl (1971 [5.1.2]).

**vocal folds** The two folds located in the larynx and which can open and close at great speed producing the effect of ‘voice’ which is characteristic of nearly all vowels and many consonants. The vocal folds can be closed and then released producing a glottal stop [ʔ] or they can be drawn close together – without closure – to articulate a glottal fricative [h]. *See* GLOTTIS.

**vocal organs** Those parts of the body around the area of the mouth and throat which are used for articulating sounds.

**vocal pop, vocal fry** *See* CREAKY VOICE.

**vocal tract** A cover term for the entire area where it is possible to produce sounds, from the bottom of the throat to the lips.

**vocalization** A shift in articulation which leads to a consonant losing its constriction in the vocal tract and adopting the character of a vowel or being absorbed by a preceding vowel as happened in the history of English with /x/: *night* Middle English [nixt] > [ni:t] > Modern English [naɪt].

**vocative** In some Indo-European languages there is a special nominal case used to address someone or to draw their attention. A formally marked vocative does not exist in English but notionally the vocative can refer to a type of attention-triggering utterance as in *Excuse me, can I use your knife? Sorry, do you have the time?*

**voice** (1) An axis along which verbs are distinguished. There are two basic divisions here: *active* and *passive*. The former is more common and represents a simple statement with the semantic subject of the verb as formal subject. The latter involves a switch so that the semantic subject appears as the formal object governed by a preposition with the semantic object in subject position: *Fiona chided Fergal, Fergal was chided (by Fiona)*. Pragmatically, the passive serves the function of highlighting the object and possibly suppressing the mention of the subject as this is optional. Some languages have other strategies, for example Finnish with a ‘fourth person’, the active verb without an agent, or Celtic languages like Irish which have an impersonal form. Languages may also have a ‘middle voice’ which shows features from both the active and passive categories. (2) The vibration of the vocal folds in the air which is escaping from the lungs. This is normal for vowels, glides /j, w/ and sonorants /m, n, l, r/ and often found with obstruents (stops and fricatives) when the latter are voiced.

**voice mutation** A change in the quality of the (male) voice which occurs immediately after puberty and which leads to a lowering of the basic pitch used for speech and hence to a more adult tone of voice.

**voiceless** A reference to an articulation during which the vocal folds are not vibrating; the folds can either be open (the normal state) or closed with the compression of air between them and a supraglottal stop position producing an EJECTIVE.

**Voices of the UK** A project of the British Library intended to ‘exploit and improve accessibility to the *BBC Voices* sound recordings’, the latter a project of the British Broadcasting Company to document local accents throughout the United Kingdom. There is a dedicated website at <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/bldept/socsci/research/voicesuk/voices.html>. A two-CD album of recordings is also available.

**vowel** A sound which is formed with voice (nearly always) and without any obstruction of the airstream in the oral cavity. Because such sounds have a high degree of sonority they tend to form the nucleus of syllables.

**vowel breaking** A term referring to the change of a monophthong to a diphthong, usually by the development of an off-glide. For instance, the FACE vowel can show a raised onset with an off-glide to a central position, that is [fɪəs]. This occurs in Derry English (Northern Ireland, McCafferty 2001 [3.3.1]) and Jamaican English (Wells 1982: 576 [1]).

**vowel distinctions before /r/** In the history of English the number of distinctions before tautosyllabic /r/ has steadily decreased. There are now only a few vernaculars, in Scotland and Ireland, which have a distinction between the NURSE and TERM lexical sets. A three-way distinction between FIR [fɪr], FERN [fɛrn] and FUR [fʌr] is very rare and is only found in Scotland (McClure 1994: 82–83 [3.1]). In addition, many varieties, for example in the United States, especially in the Midland region (Pederson 2001: 272 [5.1.2]; Kurath and McDavid 1961 [5.1.3]), do not distinguish vowel length in the MERRY and MARY sets or vowel height in the MERRY and MARRY sets or in both of these (in forms of English English the vowels in *Mary*, *marry* and *merry* are distinct with /eɪ, æ, ɛ/ respectively). In addition, the front mid vowel may coalesce with the back mid vowel to a schwa with the FERRY-FURRY merger. Furthermore, many vernaculars in Great Britain, for example Liverpool, have experienced the spread of the schwa vowel /ə/ or its rhotacized form /ɜ:/ to long vowels before /r/ in the SQUARE lexical set which can be homophonous with the NURSE vowel leading to pairs of homophones like *bared* and *bird*. See Hickey (2013 [1.5]).

**vowel distinctiveness before /l/** The environment before /l/ has led in some instances to a removal of vowel length distinctions as in *sell* and *sale* /sel/, *fill* and *feel* /fil/ in Texas and the south of the United States (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 368 [5.1]).

**vowel envelope** A term referring to the vowel space available to any one speaker determined by the movements of the tongue on the rim of the oral tract.

**vowel insertion** A recent feature of New Zealand English where a schwa is inserted after a diphthong and before a final consonant as in *grown* [grəʊwən] (Bauer & Warren 2008 [8.2]; Britain 2001 [8.2]).

**vowel length, absence of phonemic** By and large all first-language varieties of English exhibit a distinction in vowel length. But this is not always phonemic and, in varieties of Scots

(McClure 1994: 50–51 [3.1]), Scottish English (McClure 1994: 80–81 [3.1]) or Ulster Scots (Harris 1984: 119–123 [3.3]), vowel length may be similar in word pairs like *full* and *fool*, both [fʊːl]. Vowel length distinctions may be determined by the environment in which a vowel occurs, *see* SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE.

**vowel normalization** A procedure in SOCIOPHONETICS whereby an average for the formant values of vowels, across speakers and with several instances from the same speaker, is calculated. The reason for this is that the oral configuration for vowels varies between speakers and in different utterances with a single speaker; hence average values are necessary. Ideally normalized vowel values should maintain the phonemic distinctions in a variety and reflect socio-linguistic variation among speakers. Various algorithms have been developed to achieve this goal, for example the (modified) Watt-Fabricius normalization procedure, *see* Fabricius, Watt & Johnson (2009 [1.1.6]).

**vowel off-glides** An off-glide can occur when the tongue moves away from the position for the articulation of a vowel towards the end of its articulation. The movement can be to a more central position, yielding a schwa off-glide, or upwards yielding either a [ɪ] or a [ʊ] off-glide depending on whether this occurs in the front or back of the mouth. An example would be the schwa off-glide following [e] in Ulster English, for example *save* [seəv]. This type of off-glide is also found in Caribbean English (Jamaican), for example [fiəs] for FACE where the onset of the vowel is additionally raised.

**vowel quadrangle** *See* CARDINAL VOWELS.

**vowel raising** The articulation of a vowel with a higher tongue position than expected, for example the pronunciation of the TRAP vowel as [ɛ] rather than [æ]. This happened in south-east Britain before the transportation of English to the Southern Hemisphere and is responsible for the raising of short front vowels in this large region, for example *catch* [ketʃ] (Lass 1987: 304–306 [1.5]). This raising was subsequently reversed in England in the twentieth century leading to a slight lowering of the TRAP vowel (Bauer 1994 [1.2.9]).

**vowel realization, constraints on** Many varieties of English show contextually determined realizations of vowels which do not occur in standard forms of English. The SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE is one prominent example of this. CANADIAN RAISING which triggers different realizations for the vowel in the PRICE and the PRIZE lexical sets is another.

**vowel reduction** In unstressed syllables English short vowels are generally reduced to schwa, for example *about* [əˈbaʊt] and *sofa* [ˈsəʊfə]. However, second language varieties, such as the NEW ENGLISHES of Africa and Asia, may not have this reduction and hence schwa does not occur. For instance, in most varieties of Black South African English /æ/ does not reduce and is realized as [a], for example [aˈbaʊt], [ˈsofa]. Historically in vernaculars of English in Britain and Ireland, a reduction of word final [əʊ/o:] was found, for example *window* [wində], *yellow* [jelə]. *See* /O:/, REDUCTION OF UNSTRESSED FINAL.

**vowel rotation** A term for chain shifts such as the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT or the GREAT VOWEL SHIFT in which vowels appear to move in a circular manner through phonological space.

**vowel shift** Any movement of vowels which involves more than one and in which the vowels appear to move together, that is not to lead to mergers, or at least not in all cases. *See* GREAT VOWEL SHIFT, NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT, SOUTHERN SHIFT.

**vowels, diphthongization of mid** In the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries the long mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/ underwent a diphthongization to /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ respectively, cf. *take* [teɪk] and *boat* [bəʊt], in the development of standard English English (this also applies to /i:/ and /u:/ to a lesser extent). It is not necessarily reflected in other varieties of English, the more conservative of which – relic varieties in North America, Scottish and Irish English, for instance – may retain the original monophthongs or may only show a slight diphthongization of the mid vowels.

**vowels, general raising of short** An unconditioned raising of front short vowels /æ, ɛ, ɪ/ can be traced to late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century input to English colonies in the Southern Hemisphere (South Africa, Australia, New Zealand). This continued at these locations, particularly in New Zealand with a new arrangement in phonological space there, that is the high vowel /ɪ/ has been centralized and is a marked feature separating New Zealand from Australian English (Wells 1982: 598–599 [1]). *See* Cox & Palethorpe (2001 [8.1]) for a reassessment of the Australian vowel system.

**vowels, lengthening before voiceless fricative** In the early modern period the /a/ vowel before /f, θ, s/ was lengthened, yielding *staff*, *path* and *grass* all with long vowels. However, in the north of England this did not occur and the original short /a/ can still be found in these and similar words.

**vowels, lexical distribution of long and short low** The low vowels show much variation across varieties of English. Some varieties may have little or no unconditioned variation in length or quality, as in southern Irish English and many varieties of American English (though the latter usually have tensing before /n/ and sometimes before /l/). Other varieties, notably RP, have a distinction between /æ/ and /ɑ:/ as in *grand* /grænd/ and *castle* /kɑ:sl/. This also applies to varieties which inherited this system, for example white South African English. Still other varieties may have the length distinction but not necessarily the retracted realization of the long vowel, for example Australian English (Bradley 1991 [8.1]) and New Zealand English. There may be evidence for separate lengthening of vowels before fricatives, as in *pass*, *staff*, *bath* and before clusters of a nasal and obstruent, as in *dance*, *sample*, *grant* (Wells 1982: 133–135 [1]).

**vowels, lowering of /e/ to /a/ before /r/** *See* SERVE-LOWERING.

**vowels, raising of short mid** *See* PEN-PIN MERGER.

**vowels, reflexes of back vowel input** For those varieties which have a long history there may be a development of original long back vowels to a front location. This is seen in Scots where Old English /ɑ:/ was fronted and then raised, giving /e/ (without distinctive length) in words like *home*, *ghost* (Aitken 1984: 95 [3.1]) which yielded /əʊ/ (from /o:/ and a still earlier /ɔ:/) in non-vernacular southern English English.

**vowels in post-stress syllables** The realization [ə], instead of [ɪ], in post-stress syllables, as in *horses*, *naked*, is a significant feature of Australian and New Zealand English and may well be traced to Irish influence there (Trudgill 1986 [1.2.3]), particularly as it is not found in South African English which had no significant Irish input (Branford 1994: 474–480 [6.3.1]).  
See TRUSTED LEXICAL SET.

**vulgar** A censorious epithet used to describe a variety disapprovingly. The term was very common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in evaluative treatments of language, for example W. H. Savage's *The Vulgarisms and Improprieties of the English Language* (London, 1833). However, before the eighteenth century it simply meant the language of the people, that is vernacular. The word is of Latin origin, cf. Latin *vulgus* 'common people'.

**V-W variation** See /w/ AND /v/, COALESCENCE OF.

# W

**/w/, retraction after** A conditioned change in English of the early modern period (Ekwall 1975: 15 [1.5]) which involved the retraction of low vowels after /w/ as in present-day standard English *was*, *wash*, *what* all with [-ɒ-] (this did not apply before velars, cf. *wag* with [æ]). Conservative varieties of English, for example Irish or Scottish English (McClure 1994: 64 [3.1]) may show [æ] or [a] as a relic pronunciation in such words.

**/w/ and /v/, coalescence of** A coalescence of the voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ and the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/. Historically, this was a stereotypical feature of Cockney (Ihalainen 1994: 227 [1]) and was censored by eighteenth-century prescriptivists like Sheridan and Walker. /w~v/ variation may be found in other varieties of English, for example in the Caribbean, where it might be a remnant of early dialectal input to this area or a transfer feature from input African languages which tend not to have /v/ (Holm 1994: 370–371 [5.3]); for example, Bahamian [v, w] are allophones of a bilabial fricative phoneme /β/. /w~v/ variation may also have been present in the initial English input to Australia and New Zealand and has been recorded for Labrador and to a lesser degree for traditional speech in Newfoundland (Clarke 2010: 60–61 [5.2.8]). The result may have been to a bilabial approximant [β] which was abandoned through contact with varieties without /w~v/ variation (Trudgill *et al.* 2002 [1.2.5]). The variation is also found historically in Irish English where the sounds were not distinguished because this distinction did not exist phonemically in Irish either.

**[w] <w> and [ɹ] <wh>, distinction between** Historically, words like *which* [wɪtʃ] and *witch* [wɪtʃ] were distinguished consistently, the merger being of late modern origin (Jespersen 1909: 374–375 [1.5]). In general, conservative forms of English, such as vernacular Scottish and Irish English, make a distinction in voice with these approximants (this is also found recessively in coastal New England, Nagy and Roberts 2008: 61 [5.1.3], Montgomery 2001: 143 [5.1.1]), but there are noticeable exceptions to this rule of thumb, for example Newfoundland English

which has only the voiced approximant, [w]. [ʍ] can be interpreted phonologically as /hw/, for example it is never found in varieties which have H-DROPPING (Hickey 1984a [3.3]). On the west side of Shetland /hw/ can be realized as [kw] with hypercorrections like [min] for *queen* (Melchers 2008a: 42–43 [3.1.5]). See WHICH-WITCH MERGER.

**Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796–1862)** English statesman, who encouraged the ordered settlement of Australia and New Zealand.

**Wales** A constitutive part of the United Kingdom in the central west of Britain where it covers some 21,000 sq km with a population of about 3 million. The capital is Cardiff in the south-east (metropolitan population: approximately 860,000); other major cities are Swansea (mid-south), Aberystwyth (central-west) and Bangor (north-west). English has been spoken in Wales since the Old English period when it spread to the southern coast and later further north. Welsh – the Celtic language – is found in two major varieties, a northern and a southern one (the word *Welsh* derives from the Old English word *wealh* ‘foreigner; servant’). The mountainous centre remained monolingually Welsh the longest. Despite the long history of English in Wales it never replaced Welsh and bilingualism was widespread from the beginning. There were no plantations on the pattern found in Ireland nor was there a major religious conflict, though the Methodists and Quakers are not part of the Anglican Church of England. The Acts of Union of 1535 and 1543 increased the political ties with England. The south of Wales is rich in coal deposits and industrialization in the nineteenth century led to a decline of Welsh there though Swansea did retain a considerable Welsh-speaking population. The Welsh language plays an active role in the social and religious life of Wales helping to maintain it. Nonetheless, there was a steady decline in the twentieth century, especially in the number of monolinguals, despite the efforts of the Welsh Language Society and the provision of radio and television services to support the language.

**Walker, John (1732–1807)** A London-born prescriptive writer on language matters of the late eighteenth century, best known for his *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) which enjoyed great popularity in its day and continued to influence English usage throughout the entire nineteenth century.

**Wang, William** American-Chinese scholar who is known for his formulation of a type of language change known as *lexical diffusion*. The assumption here is that (phonetic) change initially spreads unevenly through the lexicon (determined by whether the phonetic environment favours or inhibits the change). If it encompasses the entire lexicon, then the change looks with hindsight like the NEOGRAMMARIAN type of phonetically gradual but lexically complete change.

**was/were variation** See VERB BE, PAST TENSE REGULARIZATION.

**wave theory** A view of language change developed by Johannes Schmidt (1843–1901) around 1870 and which sees instances of language change as spreading out from a centre like concentric waves in water when the surface is broken. See CASCADE MODEL.

**weak form** A phonetically reduced form of a word which occurs when it is unstressed, for example *and* [ænd] > [ən], *to* [tu(:)] > [tə], *of* [ɒv] > [ə], *for* [fɔ:(r)] > [fə], particularly in fast speech.



**weakening** A term in phonetics and phonology which refers to the reduction in articulatory effect expended on a sound. This leads to a relaxation of the articulation, for example when a voiced consonant is weakened and ultimately becomes or merges with a vowel. It is a common historical process and has led to many changes in the history of English, for example *asleep* from an earlier *on sleep*.

**Webster, Noah (1758–1843)** An American lexicographer and author on language matters. Webster was born in Connecticut and studied at Yale. After taking part in the American Revolution he worked as a lawyer in Hartford, Connecticut. His reputation as a major scholar was established with the appearance of his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783–1785). The first part of this work, *The Elementary Spelling Book*, gave the impulse to an American spelling of English contrasting with British practice. Most but not all of Webster's suggestions were later adopted and became standard in the United States. His lexicographical work includes the *Compendious Dictionary* (1806) which was followed by his major work, *The American Dictionary of the English Language* (1812) which contained some 70,000 words, 12,000 of which had not been listed before. Webster revised his dictionary several times, even as late as 1840. His name is synonymous with American lexicography in the present-day United States and many dictionaries bear his name. See MERRIAM-WEBSTER.

**Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1961)** An edition of a major American dictionary which was quite controversial when it first appeared. This edition was more tolerant of colloquial forms of English, a departure from earlier versions based on written English, and no longer used evaluative labels like 'incorrect', 'improper', 'erroneous'.

**weight** A term used in syllabic phonology which refers to the quantity of syllables. For instance, those syllables which have a coda consisting of a short vowel are 'light', such as *to* [tə], and those with a long vowel or a short vowel plus one or more consonants are 'heavy', such as *plea* [pli:] or *task* [tæsk].

**Weinreich, Uriel (1926–1967)** An American linguist known for his seminal work on YIDDISH and on contact and change, see *Languages in Contact* (1953).

**well formed** See ACCEPTABLE.

**wellerism** A term for a saying which consists of a direct quote (often of a proverb) followed by a short supposedly humorous comment as in '*That's the point*' said the carpenter as he sat on the nail; '*Here we go again*' said the hedgehog to the hare. The term was created in the nineteenth century with reference to the character Sam Weller in Charles Dickens' (1812–1870) *The Pickwick Papers* (published in serial form 1836–1837) as this character used such sayings very frequently.

**Wells, J. C. (1939– )** English phonetician and former professor of phonetics at University College London. He is best known for his seminal study *Accents of English* (3 vols, 1982) in which he introduced the system of lexical sets for representing vowels pronounced variously across the anglophone world. Extensions to these sets have been made to encompass consonants and those vowel realizations not catered for in the original set. Wells also continued the original *English Pronouncing Dictionary* started by Daniel JONES, see Wells (2008 [1990] [2.2]).

**Welsh English** English spoken in Wales is closer to southern English than are either Scottish or Irish English. The language has been spoken in southern Wales from at least the early Middle Ages. In addition, Anglo-Norman (the medieval form of French in England) was strong in this area. The anglicization of Wales, especially in southern urban centres has proceeded steadily since the Acts of Union (1535 and 1542, more accurately the Laws in Wales Acts) passed during the reign of the Tudor king Henry VIII.

*Phonology* (1) Long vowels tend to occur only in stressed syllables. (2) There is little distinction in length among low vowels in words like *grand* and *grass* which show a central [a]. (3) A central schwa is found for the /ʌ/-vowel in words like *cut*, *but* /kət/, /bət/. (4) Long final vowels occur such as /i:/ in *sorry* /sɒri:/. (5) Yod before /u:/ is often deleted as in *regulate* /reguleɪt/. (6) Southern Welsh English is *h*-less whereas Northern Welsh English tends to be *h*-ful. (7) Northern varieties may also show dental realizations of /t, d, n/ due to Welsh influence. (8) In the south a clear /l/ is commonly used for all positions (initially and finally) whereas in the north a velarized /ɫ/ is found. (9) In the south-west initial fricative voicing, for example *first*, *four* with /v-/ is found. (10) After short stressed vowels, consonants can be lengthened, for example *thinble* [θɪmmbl̩]. (11) Welsh English is non-rhotic so that NEAR and CURE show falling diphthongs. (12) Considerable pitch movement is common across different varieties of Welsh English. See Penhallurick (2008 [3.2]).

*Grammar and lexis* (1) Left dislocation is used for highlighting sentence elements, for example *Books on linguistics he is keen on reading*. (2) Multiple negation occurs as in *We don't speak no English in the home*. (3) *As* can function as a relative pronoun, *The woman as went abroad*. (4) *Them* acts as a demonstrative adjective, *Them men who sing so well*. (5) *Isn't it?* is a general tag, for example *I've heard the word, isn't it?* (6) A non-standard use of *there*+adjective, for example *There's nice to see you*. (7) Inversion in embedded sentences, for example *I don't know what is that*. There are also a few specific Welsh lexical items such as *bach* and *gel* as terms of endearment.

**Wenker, Georg (1852–1911)** German academic who is remembered for his pioneering work in dialect geography. In 1876 he began sending out questionnaires of some 40 sentences to schoolmasters in the north of Germany asking them to provide equivalents of words in their local dialect. Over a decade he received about 45,000 completed questionnaires. Wenker transferred the information to maps which were published as *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches* 'Linguistic atlas of the German empire' in 1881, covering north and central Germany. Wenker continued gathering questionnaires and in 1926 the first volume of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*, based largely on Wenker's data, was published under the editorship of Ferdinand Wrede.

**West Africa** A large portion of Africa, co-terminous with the Bulge of Africa, which in anglophone terms stretches from The Gambia in the west to Cameroon in the east. It contains the anglophone countries The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. These countries all had an English colonial connection, partly as in Cameroon (French and German being other colonial associations in its history) or completely in the case of The Gambia, Ghana and Nigeria. Sierra Leone, and especially Liberia, are slightly different in that they were used as locations for repatriated slaves who resettled in Africa.

**West African Pidgin English** A form of pidgin English which was and still is spoken along the coast of West Africa from Sierra Leone to Cameroon, with the exception of Liberia where Liberian Pidgin English, a pidginized form of Liberian Settler English (spoken by the descendants of nineteenth-century repatriated slaves), is found. The use of a single term for

pidgin English in this area is justified by the demographic and trade contacts which have always existed along the West African coast. See KRIO, NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH.

**West Country** A general reference to the south-west of England, west of Oxfordshire to the Welsh border and including the peninsula in the south-west of England (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 213 [2.7]). The eastern border of the area is formed by the counties of Gloucestershire – with the city of Bristol – and Wiltshire (sometimes with Herefordshire to the north and Hampshire to the south). The next two counties further west are Somerset and Dorset with Devon and Cornwall forming the extreme south-west. This region has traditional features which delimit it from other regions of England such as retroflex /r/ (in the south-west), initial voiced fricatives (a general southern feature, from Kent across to Devon, Trudgill 1990: 29 [2.1]) and, in grammar, the use of *baint* for ‘am not’, the contraction *idden* ‘is not’ and *thick(y)* /ðɪk(i)/ for ‘this’. Analogically formed weak verbs are also found, for example *knowed* ‘known’, *throwed* ‘threw’. Initial voicing from the West Country was transported to Newfoundland and is found in the English-based community there (Clarke 2004 [5.2.8]).

**West Germanic** A sub-grouping within the Germanic branch of Indo-European (the others are North and East Germanic). It consists of the languages English, German, Dutch, Flemish, Afrikaans (in South Africa), Frisian and Yiddish (among the Jewish diaspora, for example in New York).

**West Indies** A reference to the islands of the Central and Eastern Caribbean or to people from this area (West Indians). It is a misnomer which stems from the fact that the original explorers who discovered the Caribbean were looking for an easier sea passage to India and thought they had found it. The term is still found in English English usage. See EAST INDIES.

**West Midlands** An area of west central England with one of the major conurbations of the country including such major cities as Birmingham, West Bromich and Wolverhampton – traditionally know as the Black Country due to former levels of industrial pollution. English there is similar to the lower north and generally does not have the FOOT-STRUT split, lacks a TRAP-BATH distinction and shows a stop after velar nasals, a typical Merseyside feature, in cases where this is not found elsewhere, for example *sing* [sɪŋg]. It is non-rhotic and shows H-dropping. See Clark & Asprey (2012 [2.8]).

**West Saxon** The dialect of Old English spoken in the south-central part of the country. This is a continuation of the speech which the Saxons brought with them from the continent in the fifth century and became the quasi-standard of Old English after the ninth century. It was a KOINÉ at this period, that is a dialect which was used as a lead variety by other dialect regions at least in written form; for example, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the text of *Beowulf* (from c.1000) are in West Saxon.

**whenever for when** A feature of vernacular varieties in Ulster, especially in the east of the province, which includes Belfast, for example *Whenever I was young I used to play soccer*. See PUNCTUAL WHENEVER.

**WHICH-WITCH merger** The voicing of [w] has led in many varieties of English to the merger of the WHICH lexical set with the WITCH set in the twentieth century, for example in New Zealand English. In the case of Ireland this has also become characteristic of new

supraregional speech. Only speakers born before 1970 can be expected to distinguish pairs like *whet* and *wet* or *whale* and *wail*, all words of which now have initial [w] with younger speakers. In the United States the distinction between [ʍ] and [w] is also highly recessive. Its former distribution in New England and the Inland North as well as the South is now very much reduced. See Kurath & McDavid Jr (1961 [5.1.3]) and Labov, Ash & Boberg (2006 [5.1.2]).

**WH-question** A type of question in English which begins with an interrogative word in *wh-* such as *which*, *what*, *where*, *why*.

**WH-voicing** See WHICH-WITCH MERGER.

**Wilson, Thomas (?1525–1581)** Author of two books on rhetoric, *Logique* (1552) and *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) in which he attacked inkhorn terms and recommended a plain style of writing.

**Wisconsin English** English as spoken in the Midwest state of Wisconsin bordered by Minnesota, Iowa and Illinois on the west, south-west and south respectively. Its eastern border is the shore of Lake Michigan; the capital is Madison. Germans and Scandinavians predominated among the early European settlers and remnants of their speech, for example final devoicing or the use of bare *with* (both German-origin features), can still be found. See Purnell, Raimy & Salmons (eds, 2013 [5.1.5.1]).

**Witherspoon, John (1723–1794)** A Scottish-born Presbyterian minister active in New Jersey and signatory of the Declaration of Independence. He was president of the College of New Jersey (1768–1794), later Princeton University. Witherspoon was one of the first to comment on the differences between American and English English, stating that the ‘use of phrases or terms, or a construction of sentences [is] different from the use of the same terms or phrases, or the construction of similar sentences, in Great Britain’.

**Wolfram, Walt (1941– )** American sociolinguist known for early work on English in Detroit and later studies of English on the island community of Ocracoke Brogue, North Carolina. He has also campaigned for the rights of dialect speakers and the protection of dialect diversity in the United States.

**word** A term for a morphological form which is internally stable, can stand on its own and which in principle can occur in different positions in a sentence. Words can be morphologically complex, in which case they consist of a stem plus ending(s) and/or prefix(es).

**word class** A group of words which are similar in their grammatical characteristics: the kinds of inflections they take, their distribution in sentences and the relations they enter with other sets of words. Typical word classes are nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions.

**word formation** One of two branches of morphology (the other being inflection) and the chief process in lexicology (the study of the vocabulary of a language). Word-formational processes are closely connected to a language’s type. For example, German and Russian are synthetic languages and have much compounding but English as an analytic language has somewhat less, though in this sphere a tendency towards complex formations is noticeable, for

example *a part-financed project, a low-intensity campaign, a small-scale business, a water-stressed area*.

**word game** Any kind of game which depends on a special use of language, such as multiple meanings or special leads provided by phonetic or semantic similarity.

**word order** The arrangement of words in a linear sequence in a sentence. There is normally an unmarked, a so-called ‘canonical’, word order in a language – such as SVO in English or Spanish, VSO in Welsh or Irish, SOV in Finnish or Turkish – but usually alternative word orders exist, particularly to allow for emphasis in a sentence such as the fronting of sentence elements for the purpose of topicalization. *See* VERB SECOND.

**word order in subordinate clauses, interrogative** In standard forms of English an interrogative which is embedded in a subordinate clause is preceded by *whether* or *if* and has main clause word order. However, in many vernaculars it is common to retain the inverted order of the interrogative and not to have a conjunction, for example *She asked him was he interested* ‘She asked him whether/if he was interested’ (Irish English). It has also been reported as a feature of Afrikaans English due to fossilization by second language learners who generalize main clause structure to subordinate clauses (Watermeyer 1996: 113 [6.3.1.2]).

**World English** A general term referring to English as spoken throughout all five continents. The reference is usually to that core of language which is common to all varieties of English and which contains no specific features of any one variety. This amount of English is frequently that used by non-natives as a lingua franca when they are communicating with each other. The use in the plural, that is as *World Englishes*, has gained currency in recent years and refers to international, non-native forms of English which are not bound to settler varieties overseas or traditional dialects of English. The term deliberately does not imply a connection with British or American English nor does it suggest an association with English cultural history. Although not explicitly stated, the term seems to exclude historically continuous forms of English such as Canadian or Australian English. In the European context, the term *Euro English* (in the singular) can sometimes be found with similar connotations. References to ‘World English(es)’ are often seen in the context of teaching English as an international language, for the purpose of global communication. There are dedicated journals dealing with matters which fall within the scope of World English, such as *World Englishes* and *English Today*. There are also corpora dedicated to the collection of data on standard English from different countries, notably those contained in the *International Corpus of English* project and in others such as the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* or the *Australian National Corpus*. *See* McArthur (1998 [1], 2002 [10]) and Kachru, Kachru & Nelson (eds, 2006 [10]) and NEW ENGLISHES.

**would have** *See* AUXILIARY CONTRACTION.

**Wright, Elizabeth (1863–1958)** English writer on matters of dialects, the co-author of the historical grammars of English by Joseph Wright. Her single-authored book *Rustic Speech and Folklore* appeared in 1913.

**Wright, Joseph (1855–1930)** An English scholar who set dialect study on a new footing at the beginning of the twentieth century. Wright studied in Germany, in Heidelberg and

Leipzig, and came into contact with leading linguists of the day at these centres. Later he returned to England to take up a professorship at Oxford. He is now known for two works, the *English Dialect Dictionary* (5 vols, 1898–1905) and the sixth volume of this work, his *English Dialect Grammar*.

**writing** A medium for rendering language in a more permanent form than speech. Writing systems were developed several thousand years ago for encoding important documents of earlier societies such as laws or religious texts or just references to rulers, for example tomb inscriptions. In the development of Western societies writing gained a special status as an encoded form of standard language and came to enjoy high prestige, leading non-linguists to appeal to writing when uncertain as to what is ‘correct’ usage in a language. This is dubious, not least because writing is secondary (seen historically). It is also an impoverished representation of the spoken word and the variety encoded in writing has no inherent claim to privileged status.

**Wyld, Henry Cecil (1870–1945)** An English scholar active at the beginning of the twentieth century and author of *A Short History of English* (1927) and *A History of Modern Colloquial English* (1936) which took information on social use and style into account.

# X

**/x/** The voiceless velar fricative as in German *Buch* /bux/ ‘book’ or Spanish *trabajo* /traˈbaxo/ ‘work’. This sound existed in Old and Middle English but gradually disappeared from southern English at the end of the latter period. It was previously indicated in writing by the sequence *-gh-* as in *night* /nixt/. In general the sound was vocalized, often lengthening the preceding vowel, cf. /nixt/ > /ni:t/ (> /nait/). In some cases it shifted to /f/, cf. *laugh* /la:f/ (Jespersen 1940 [1909]: 286–287 [1.5]). This may result in doublets like *dough* and *duff* ‘steamed pudding’ (north of England). The voiceless velar fricative /x/ has been retained only in Scots (McClure 1994: 65 [3.1]) and in varieties of ULSTER SCOTS (as with [ɪˈnax] for *enough*) which historically derive from the former.

**Xhosa** [[|hosa, kosa] A member of the NGUNI sub-branch of Bantu languages with official status in South Africa. Xhosa speakers make up the second largest Bantu language community after ZULU (to which it is closely related) and is spoken by more than 7 million people (according to the last published census of 2001), predominantly in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The language is known for having clicks which are the result of earlier borrowings from languages of the Khoisan families with which it was in contact. Compared to English Xhosa has a reduced set of vowels with no phonemic length distinctions and no reduction in unstressed syllables. This system is often transferred to English by Xhosa speakers and can lead to considerable homophony with potential misunderstandings as a result, e.g. *I had to* [liv] *here* = ‘I had to leave here’ / ‘I had to live here’. For research on Xhosa English, see de Klerk (2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2006 [6.3.1.3]).

**X-SAMPA** A means of representing phonetic symbols developed by J. C. WELLS. The idea is to avail only of 7-bit ASCII characters, that is those not above the numerical value 126. This makes the system compatible with any computer platform no matter what operating system is running. The term is an acronym for *Extended Speech Assessment Methods Phonetic Alphabet*. See UNICODE.



# Y

**Yat** A popular name for English as spoken in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, United States. The name probably derives from the common phrase ‘*What are y’at*’ (< *you at*). Some pronunciation features are lack of non-prevocalic /r/ and the stop realization of inter-dental fricatives.

**Yiddish (Judaeo-German)** A West Germanic language which developed in the early Middle Ages among Ashkenazy Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. The first attestations date from the twelfth century and are in western Yiddish (based on dialects from Germany and Holland). The modern literary language, which was established in the nineteenth century, is based on eastern Yiddish as spoken in Slavic and Baltic areas. Yiddish is still used as a lingua franca among many Jews. It is written in the Hebrew alphabet and is officially supported by Israel. The number of speakers is difficult to determine exactly as levels of competence vary. Prior to World War II over 10 million speakers existed. However, many were among the Jews exterminated by Nazi Germany so that at the beginning of the twenty-first century only a fraction of this former figure still exists in living communities. Such communities can be found first and foremost in the United States and Israel and on a smaller scale in Russia, the Ukraine and South America. See Jacobs (2005 [5.1.14]).

**Yinglish** A PORTMANTEAU term for Yiddish and English, referring to the supposed manner in which Yiddish people speak English.

**yod** [jɒd] A word referring to the sound /j/ as in English *year* /jiə(r)/. This sound is often dropped in the position immediately after a consonant and before /u/, *see* YOD DROPPING.

**yod dropping** The pronunciation of /ju:/ as /u:/ which is frequently found (1) after sonorants, especially /l/ and /n/, as in *lute* /lu:t/ and *news* /nu:z/ respectively, and (2) after alveolar stops as in *tune* /tu:n/, *student* /stu:dənt/, *due* /du:/, particularly in forms of American

English (Wells 1982: 206–208 [1], but see remarks in Fisher 2001: 78 [5.1.1]). The deletion may be confined to (1) in some varieties, for example in Irish English. Varieties which show yod deletion generally maintain /j/ when this follows a labio-dental fricative or a bilabial nasal, for example *futile* [fju:tal], *mews* [mju:z] and often in unstressed position, for example *numerical* [nju'merɪkəl]. There are some dialects which have this deletion as well, for example the East Midlands and East Anglia as in *few* [fu:] (on northern East Anglia, which has total yod dropping, see Trudgill 2008a: 186 [2.6]).

**Yola** The form of the word ‘old’ in the dialect of FORTH AND BARGY which came to be used as a reference to the dialect itself.

**Yoooper** A popular term for English as spoken in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Some characteristics derive from the proximity to Canada, such as CANADIAN RAISING while others are connected to the German and/or Scandinavian heritage of nearby Wisconsin of which the peninsula is geographically a part, for example the use of *with* without a noun, as in *I think he'll come with*, or the realization of INTER-DENTAL FRICATIVES as stops.

**Yorkshire** By far the largest county in England, Yorkshire stretches from the mid north to the far north and occupies for its greater part the centre and right-hand side of this area with a considerable stretch of coast on the North Sea. Historically, Yorkshire, and its main city York, a Roman settlement called ‘Eboracum’ dating from the first century CE, dominated the north with its only major rival the county of Lancashire to the west. This historical rivalry climaxed in the War of Roses (1455–1485), so called because of the White Rose as symbol of Yorkshire and the Red Rose as that of Lancashire. Yorkshire was formerly divided into three administrative regions, East, West and North Riding (< *thriding* ‘one third part’). Apart from the city of York, the county contains many of the major cities of the north, for example Sheffield, Bradford, Leeds, the port of Hull along with more recent cities like Middlesbrough. Despite the present-day conurbations Yorkshire is a largely rural county with dialects which reflect this, for example in the preservation of a second person singular form *thou* which has disappeared elsewhere. Yorkshire in general shows features of the north of England, for example a short /a/ in words like *bath* and *grass* as well as no FOOT-STRUT SPLIT. It is generally non-rhotic with pockets of rhoticity among the rural areas.

*youse, yours, yeez, yez, y'all, you all, you guys* See PRONOUNS, SECOND PERSON PLURAL.

# Z

**Zambia** A landlocked country in southern Africa, former Northern Rhodesia, which became independent in 1964. For about 10 years prior to that it had formed the Federation of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Its area is c.753,000 sq km with a population of about 13 million. The capital is Lusaka in the south of the country. Zambia consists of various Bantu groups, the chief one being Bemba totalling more than one third of the population. Other Bantu groups are Chewa, Lunda, Tonga and Nyanja. English is the official language and is widely used as a lingua franca, but is spoken natively by less than 100,000. The Bantu languages are regionally recognized. Other languages spoken in Zambia are Afrikaans (from South Africa) and Gujarati (from nineteenth-century Indian immigrants).

Zambian English shows non-standard features such as the omission/addition of adverbial particles as in *I'll come to pick you* or *to cope up with*. In addition, there are lexical innovations such as *movious* characterizing a person who is always on the move. A feature of discourse is the addressing of people with additional markers indicating age, sex or status, such as the address form *father/uncle*. Expressions like *How have you stayed the day?* meaning 'What have you done since the morning' or *How are you suffering?*, used as a greeting for a person who suffered a misfortune, are common.

**Zamenhof, Ludwig (1859–1917)** A Polish scholar who invented the artificial language *Esperanto* at the end of the nineteenth century. This language is based on Romance elements and was intended to be easy for Europeans to learn and thus promote communication between speakers of different languages. It still has a certain following with dictionaries and course books available.

**zero derivation** The transfer of an element of one word class into another without any formal alteration. This is very common in English, for example *breakfast* (noun) > *to breakfast* (verb), *fax* (noun) > *to fax* (verb), *text message* (noun) > *to text s.o.* (verb). Also called *conversion*.

**zero element** Any element which is postulated by the linguist but which has no realization in language, for example the zero copula of AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH in a sentence like *Her sister Ø [is] a good teacher*.

**zero marking** The absence of a morphological suffix which is normally present for a grammatical category, for example *sheep*. PLURAL which lacks the *-s* normally found in the plural. The term also refers to the lack of suffixal *-s* in the third person singular present tense, for example in African American English and (unconnectedly) in East Anglian forms of English. See SUBJECT CONCORD.

**zero relative** See RELATIVE PRONOUN, ZERO.

**Zimbabwe** Former Southern Rhodesia, or just Rhodesia, a landlocked country in southern Africa which declared unilateral (white) independence in 1965 with a change to black majority power in 1980. Zimbabwe has an area of 390,000 sq km and a population of approximately 13 million with about a quarter living in or around the capital Harare. English is the official language with a dwindling number of native speakers (probably around a quarter of a million) given the expulsion of many whites in recent years. Various Bantu languages are spoken, the most important of which is Shona used by over half of the population in central and northern Zimbabwe along with many people in southern Zambia. The Nguni language Ndebele is spoken by a few million in Matebeleland (southern Zimbabwe).

English in Zimbabwe shares features with Black South African English such as its non-rhotic character and the lack of systemic vowel length and a simplified five-vowel configuration. Lexical features may be calques on Bantu language expressions such as *He has grown up in my eyes* ‘I saw him grow up’ or direct borrowings, for example *shimiyaan* ‘home-made liquor’ and *muti* ‘medicine’. Other expressions, like *now-now girl* ‘modern young woman’ are based on a creative use of English vocabulary.

**Z-stopping, pre-nasal** A feature of south-west English, south-east Irish English and some varieties of southern American English (Thomas 2008: 109 [5.1.9]) whereby /z/ is realized as [d] when it occurs before /n/, typically in the contracted verb forms *isn’t* [ɪdn̩t] and *wasn’t* [wɒdn̩t] but possibly also in nouns like *business* [bɪdn̩s].

**Zulu (isiZulu)** A language of the NGUNI sub-branch of Bantu languages which is closely related to XHOSA, Ndebele and Swati. Zulu speakers, found mainly in KwaZulu-Natal, form the largest Bantu language community in South Africa (with more than 10 million speakers according to the last published census of 2001) where the language has official status. Zulu is a TONE LANGUAGE with CLICK SOUNDS borrowed from languages of the Khoisan families. FANAGALO is a Zulu-based pidgin.

**Zurich English Newspaper Corpus** A corpus of early newspaper texts covering the years 1661–1791 compiled at the University of Zurich.

# Appendix A

## *Lexical Sets*

An established method of describing the vowels of English is by using lexical sets, keywords representing sets of sounds which can be realized differently in different varieties. The system was devised by John Wells and presented in 1982 (Wells 1982: 127–167 [1]). The principle is to take a representative word, characterize the vowel it embodies and then describe variants in varieties other than RP with reference to this word. For instance, the lexical set LOT contains all words with the vowel /ɒ/ in RP. When describing varieties other than RP one may find that the word contains a different vowel, for instance varieties of American English which often have [ɑ] or [a]. Another example would be the /ɛ/-vowel which in New Zealand English is typical of the TRAP lexical set whereas in RP it would be a more open realization of the vowel in the DRESS lexical set.

Lexical sets can also be used to encompass a set of words which are historically a subset and which shows variation across time and space. For instance, the lexical set BATH contains a long vowel /ɑ:/ in RP because of an Early Modern English lengthening of /a/ before voiceless fricatives (with later retraction). Northern varieties of English did not undergo this lengthening and so still have /a/ in this lexical set, although they may well have long realizations in other lexical sets, for example in the PALM set. Table 22 shows the vowel values of RP (after Wells 1982 [1]) with some variants, for example vowels + /-r/, and can serve as a reference framework against which to compare realizations in other varieties.

### 1 Extensions for Vowels

Wells' lexical sets take RP as the starting point. They have been expanded by various scholars to handle groups of vowel realizations which do not occur in RP. For example, the lexical set PRIZE has been added to PRICE in order to capture the realizations of /ai/ before voiced consonants (Stuart-Smith 2008: 55 [3.1], *see* SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE). This distinction,

**Table 22** Vowel values of RP.

<i>Short vowels</i>		<i>Long vowels</i>		<i>Rising diphthongs</i>	
KIT	/ɪ/	FLEECE	/i:/	PRICE	/aɪ/
DRESS	/e/	FACE	/eɪ/	MOUTH	/aʊ/
TRAP	/æ/	PALM	/ɑ:/	CHOICE	/ɔɪ/
LOT	/ɒ/	BATH	/ɑ:, ʌ/	CLOTH	/ɒ, ɔ:/
		THOUGHT	/ɔ:/		
STRUT	/ʌ/			GOAT	/əʊ/
FOOT	/ʊ/	GOOSE	/u:/		
<i>Centring diphthongs / rhotacized vowels; unstressed vowels</i>					
NEAR	/ɪə, iə/	HAPPY	/-ɪ, ɪ/	SQUARE	/eə, eə/
START	/ɑ:, ɑ:r/	LETTER	/-ə, -ə/	NORTH	/ɔ:, ɔ:r/
FORCE	/ɔ:, ɔ:r/	CURE	/ʊə, uə/	NURSE	/ɜ:, ə:/
COMMA	/-ə/				

and that of LOUT : LOUD, would be necessary to capture the differential realization of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ in Canada, *see* CANADIAN RAISING. Those varieties which show a distinction of short vowels before /r/ might need sets like TERM : NURSE used for Scottish English/ Scots (Stuart-Smith 2008: 55 [3.1]) and maybe a further set FIR where this has a vowel different from the TERM set. For various forms of American English additions to the original set have been made, for example by Gordon (2008: 76 [5.1.4]) for northern cities in the United States, by Thomas (2008: 91–92 [5.1.9]) looking at rural southern accents and by Dubois & Horvath (2008: 211 [5.1.12]) examining Cajun English. Lexical sets can also be extended to deal with historical phenomena, for example SERVE-LOWERING which refers to the use of /a/ for /e/ before /-r/, a feature now only found in a very few traditional dialects of England.

## 2 Consonants

Lexical sets are found occasionally when referring to consonants, for example THIN : THIS for the voiceless and voiced dental fricatives respectively or WHICH : WITCH to refer to the possible distinction of [ɹ] of [w] in a variety. But it is equally common to find capital letters, for example TH and DH for voiceless and voiced dental fricatives, SH for the initial sound in *shoe*, ZH for the intervocalic fricative in *leisure*, CH for that in *chip*, and so on.

# Appendix B

## *Guide to Phonetic Symbols*

Tables 23 and 24 list the vowels and consonants of RP. Although this variety of English is only spoken by a small minority of English people, it is used, for largely historical reasons, as a reference accent of English in England and is the accent most often taught to foreigners.

**Table 23** Vowels of RP.

### 1. Long vowels

/i:/	/ti:/ <i>tea</i>	/ɑ:/	/tɑ:/ <i>tar</i>	/ɔ:/	/tɔ:t/ <i>taut</i>
/u:/	/tu:l/ <i>tool</i>	/ɜ:/	/tɜ:n/ <i>turn</i>		

### 2. Diphthongs

#### (a) Rising

(i)	/aɪ/	/taɪm/ <i>time</i>	/aʊ/	/taʊn/ <i>town</i>	/ɔɪ/	/tɔɪl/ <i>toil</i>
(ii)	/eɪ/	/teɪm/ <i>tame</i>	/əʊ/	/təʊn/ <i>tone</i>		

#### (b) Centring

/ɪə/	/pɪə/ <i>pier</i>	/ɛə/	/pɛə/ <i>pear</i>	/ʊə/	/pʊə/ <i>poor</i>
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### 3. Short vowels

/ɪ/	/bɪd/ <i>bid</i>	/ɛ/	/bɛd/ <i>bed</i>	/æ/	/bæd/ <i>bad</i>
/ɒ/	/bɒks/ <i>box</i>	/ʌ/	/bʌd/ <i>bud</i>	/ʊ/	/bʊl/ <i>bull</i>
/ə/	/bʌtə/ <i>butter</i>				

*Vowels* Rhotic varieties, that is those where /r/ in syllable-final position is pronounced, for example in most varieties of American and Canadian English, differ from RP in that there is no separate set of centring diphthongs; these are usually realized as a long vowel + /r/, for example [pi:r] *pier*, [pe:r] *pear*, [pu:r] *poor*. The centralized schwa vowel is rhotacized in such varieties, so that [tɜ:n] *turn* (RP) would be pronounced [tɜ:rɪn].



The long low vowel (see *tar* in Table 23) can vary from a retracted position in RP to a more central position in American or Canadian English. In some varieties, or groups of varieties, both can be found and are subject to social conditioning, for example in Australian English.

The first three of the rising diphthongs in (2)(a)(i) in Table 23 tend to exist in all varieties of English, though the amount of tongue movement can be slight, for example in South Africa or in English in the southern United States, as in *wife* [wa:<sup>0</sup>f]. The onset for the [aɪ] diphthong is often centralized and/or lowered and that for [aʊ] is frequently fronted, for example *tight* [təɪt]; [tɪtɪ] (Canadian English), *town* [təʊn] (colloquial London English), /ɔɪ/ is sometimes more open, for example *boil* [bɔɪl] (traditional Irish English).

The rising diphthongs in (2)(a)(ii) are often not diphthongs at all, for example in Scottish or Irish English, cf. [te:m] *tame*, [to:n] *tone*. In Scottish English the length of these vowels can depend on the following consonant (according to the SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE). Conditional realizations of diphthongs are also found in Canada, see CANADIAN RAISING. For some varieties the number of diphthong contrasts may be reduced through merger, cf. the CHAIR-CHEER MERGER in New Zealand English.

The short vowels tend to vary less than their long counterparts. Nonetheless, in the anglophone world there is a spectrum of realizations which encompasses raised variants in the southern hemisphere, tensed realizations of /æ/ in North American varieties (United States and to a lesser extent in Canada) as well as lowered variants in California and Canada, cf. SHORT FRONT VOWEL LOWERING.

**Table 24** Consonants of RP.

4. Consonants

(a) Stops

/p/	/pɪt/ <i>pit</i>	/t/	/tu:/ <i>two</i>	/k/	/kəʊl/ <i>coal</i>
/b/	/bɪt/ <i>bit</i>	/d/	/du:/ <i>do</i>	/g/	/gəʊl/ <i>goal</i>

(b) Fricatives

/f/	/fæt/ <i>fat</i>	/θ/	/θaɪ/ <i>thigh</i>	/s/	/sɪp/ <i>sip</i>
/v/	/væt/ <i>vat</i>	/ð/	/ðaɪ/ <i>thy</i>	/z/	/zɪp/ <i>zip</i>
/ʃ/	/fɪʃən/ <i>fission</i>	/ʒ/	/fju:ʒən/ <i>fusion</i>	/h/	/hæt/ <i>hat</i>

(c) Affricates

/tʃ/	/tʃɜ:tʃ/ <i>church</i>	/dʒ/	/dʒʌdʒ/ <i>judge</i>
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(d) Sonorants

Nasal	/n/	/nɪp/ <i>nip</i>	/m/	/læm/ <i>lamb</i>	/ŋ/	/bæŋ/ <i>bang</i>
Liquids	/l/	/lɪp/ <i>rip</i>	/r/	/rɪp/ <i>rip</i>		

(e) Glides

/j/	/jæt/ <i>yet</i>	/w/	/wæt/ <i>wet</i>
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**Consonants** The consonant system of English is largely symmetrical with sounds occurring in pairs with voiceless and voiced members, although the functional load of /θ, ð/ is weak.

Variation among dialects shows a certain amount of predictability. For instance, the sounds /t, d/ are likely to be weakened in positions of high sonority (in historically unrelated dialects). The weakening can take the form of glottalization, in southern English English, Scottish English, Dublin English, for example *bottle* ['bɒtʌ], *pretty* ['prɪʔi]. Weakening can also manifest itself as a fricative, for example *pretty* ['prɪʔi], in general forms of Irish English or as a tap, in many forms of American English, for example *pretty* ['prɪɾi].

A common occurrence is the deletion of /h/, for example in vernacular urban English. However, this is not generally found in first-language varieties overseas.

The dental fricatives are often realized as stops, either dental or alveolar, for example *think* [tɪŋk/tɪŋk], *this* [ðɪs/ðɪs]. This realization is found in varieties as far apart as Irish English, African American English and Caribbean English as well as many forms of African and Asian English. In the latter cases the background languages of non-native speakers may be, or have been, responsible for stop realizations.

The liquids, /l/ and /r/, also show considerable variation. With /l/ there are two main variants, an alveolar, or ‘clear’ [l] and a velarized, or ‘dark’ [ɫ]. Their occurrence may depend on syllable position with the latter occurring syllable-finally as in RP, cf. *ill* [ɪɫ].

There are many variants of /r/ in varieties of English. The frictionless continuant of RP, [ɹ], is the most common variant, but some varieties may have a rolled [r], for example conservative forms of Scottish English. A retroflex [ɻ] is general in American and Canadian English, in Ulster and recently in southern Ireland. A uvular [ʁ] is found recessively in the extreme north-east of England, where it is termed a ‘burr’, and in north east Leinster (north of Dublin).

# Appendix C

## *IPA and American Transcription*

The transcription employed in this dictionary is that specified by the International Phonetic Alphabet (see Figure 6) which is in general use in Europe. In North America a different system is employed which shows slight differences in the transcription of sibilants and affricates as well as glides and front vowels. Tables 25 and 26 summarize the differences.

On a phonological, as opposed to a phonetic, level there is an advantage to the single symbols for affricates as they highlight their status as systemic units.

The diaeresis in American usage indicates a front vowel (as in German orthography); in the IPA this indicates a centralized vowel realization.

*Broad and narrow transcription* When discussing general sound contrasts it is not necessary to indicate all shades of phonetic realization. For instance, in English it is not always expedient to use [ɹ] or [ɹ̥] for /r/ unless one is discussing, say differences between British and American English. This leads, however, to potential ambiguity: on the one hand [r] is used as a cover symbol for all *r*-sounds and on the other it stands for an alveolar trill. How broadly or narrowly symbols are being used is often a question of the transcriptional style of an author. This can normally be determined by considering the degree of attention paid to phonetic detail. Bracketing also provides a cue: obliques always indicate phonemes, segments with systemic status in a language, and are not to be interpreted in strictly phonetic terms. For instance, to talk of /r/ in English is quite usual without specifying how this segment can be realized in a particular variety.

## THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 2005)

## CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

© 2005 IPA

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

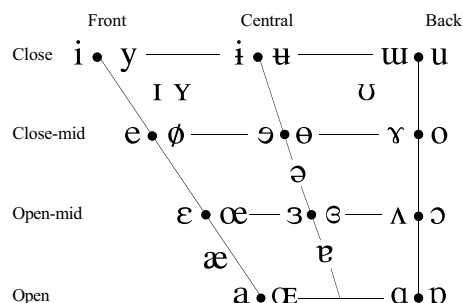
## CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks	Voiced implosives	Ejectives
◌ ɸ	ɓ Bilabial	ʼ Examples:
◌ ǀ	ɗ Dental	pʼ Bilabial
◌ ǃ	ɟ (Post)alveolar	tʼ Dental/alveolar
◌ ǂ	ɡ Palatoalveolar	kʼ Velar
◌ ǁ	ʄ Alveolar lateral	sʼ Alveolar fricative

## OTHER SYMBOLS

ɱ	Voiceless labial-velar fricative	ɕ ʑ	Alveolo-palatal fricatives
ʋ	Voiced labial-velar approximant	ɭ	Voiced alveolar lateral flap
ɰ	Voiced labial-palatal approximant	ɥ	Simultaneous ɹ and ɰ
ħ	Voiceless epiglottal fricative		
ʕ	Voiced epiglottal fricative		Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary.
ʡ	Epiglottal plosive		

## VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

## SUPRASEGMENTALS

ˈ	Primary stress
ˌ	Secondary stress
ː	Long
ˑ	Half-long
˚	Extra-short
◌̥	Minor (foot) group
◌̦	Major (intonation) group
◌̩	Syllable break
◌̪	Linking (absence of a break)

DIACRITICS Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ɲ̥

◌̥	Voiceless	◌̤	Breathy voiced	◌̦	Dental
◌̨	Voiced	◌̧	Creaky voiced	◌̩	Apical
◌̪	Aspirated	◌̫	Linguolabial	◌̬	Laminal
◌̭	More rounded	◌̮	Labialized	◌̯	Nasalized
◌̰	Less rounded	◌̱	Palatalized	◌̲	Nasal release
◌̳	Advanced	◌̴	Velarized	◌̵	Lateral release
◌̶	Retracted	◌̷	Pharyngealized	◌̸	No audible release
◌̹	Centralized	◌̺	Velarized or pharyngealized		
◌̻	Mid-centralized	◌̼	Raised		
◌̽	Syllabic	◌̾	Lowered		
◌̿	Non-syllabic	◌̿	Advanced Tongue Root		
◌̻̥	Rhoticity	◌̻̥	Retracted Tongue Root		

## TONES AND WORD ACCENTS LEVEL

◌̥	Extra high	◌̥	Rising
◌̦	High	◌̦	Falling
◌̩	Mid	◌̩	High rising
◌̪	Low	◌̪	Low rising
◌̫	Extra low	◌̫	Rising-falling
◌̬	Downstep	◌̬	Global rise
◌̭	Upstep	◌̭	Global fall

**Figure 6** IPA Chart, <http://www.langsci.ucl.ac.uk/ipa/ipachart.html>, available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Sharealike 3.0 Unported License. Copyright © 2005 International Phonetic Association.

**Table 25** Differences in the transcription of fricatives and affricates.

<i>Description</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>IPA</i>
(1) palato-alveolar voiceless fricative <i>shoe</i>	[ʃ] [šu:]	[f] [fu:]
(2) palato-alveolar voiced fricative <i>vision</i>	[ʒ] [ˈvɪʒən]	[ʒ] [ˈvɪʒən]
(3) palato-alveolar voiceless affricate <i>chin</i>	[tʃ] [čɪn]	[tʃ] [tʃɪn]
alternative rendering	[tʃ]	
(4) palato-alveolar voiced affricate <i>jeep</i>	[j] [ji:p]	[dʒ] [dʒi:p]
alternative rendering	[dʒ]	

**Table 26** Differences in the transcription of vowels.

<i>Description</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>IPA</i>
(1) palatal approximant <i>yes</i>	[y] [yes]	[j] [jes]
(2) front end-element of rising diphthong <i>try</i>	[y] [tray]	[i] [traɪ]
(3) back end-element of rising diphthong <i>bow</i>	[w] [baw]	[u] [bau]
(4) high front rounded vowel Fr. <i>vu</i>	[ü] [vü]	[y] [vy]
(5) high front rounded vowel Fr. <i>peu</i>	[ö] [pö]	[ø] [pø]

# Reference Guide for Varieties of English

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Note. The section containing the source edited volume for an item is specified if this is not the current section.

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- Agnihotri, R. K. & A. L. Khanna (eds) 1994. *Second Language Acquisition. Socio-cultural and Linguistic Aspects of English in India*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Davies, Alan 2003. *The Native Speaker. Myth and Reality*. Second edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Davydova, Julia 2011. *The Present Perfect in Non-Native Englishes*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Drummond, Rob 2011. 'Glottal variation in /t/ in non-native English speech: patterns of acquisition', *English Worldwide* 32.3: 280–308.
- Drummond, Rob 2012. 'Aspects of identity in a second language: ING variation in the speech of Polish migrants living in Manchester, UK', *Language Variation and Change* 24: 107–133.
- Gut, Ulrike 2009. *Non-native Speech: A Corpus-based Analysis of Phonological and Phonetic Properties of L2 English and German*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Hackert, Stephanie 2009. 'A discourse-historical approach to the English native speaker', in: [10] Hoffmann & Siebers (eds), pp. 385–406.
- Hackert, Stephanie 2012. *The Emergence of the English Native Speaker. A Chapter in Nineteenth-Century Linguistic Thought*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Kachru, Braj 1990 [1986]. *The Alchemy of English. The Spread, Functions, and Models of Non-native Englishes. English in a Global Context*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Kirkpatrick, Andy 2006. 'Which model of English: native speaker, nativised or lingua franca?', in: [10] Rubdy & Saraceni (eds), pp. 71–83.
- Meierkord, Christiane 2012. *Interactions across Englishes. Linguistic Choices in Local and International Contact Situations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mukherjee, Joybrato & Marianne Hundt (eds) 2011. *Exploring Second-language Varieties of English and Learner Englishes: Bridging a Paradigm Gap*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Valentine, Tamara M. 1988. 'Developing discourse types in non-native English: strategies of gender in Hindi and Indian English', *World Englishes* 7.2: 143–158.
- Williams, Jessica 1987. 'Non-native varieties of English: A special case of language acquisition', *English World-Wide* 8.2: 161–199.

## 11 Overseas Forms of Spanish

- Clements, J. Clancy 2009. *The Linguistic Legacy of Spanish and Portuguese: Colonial Expansion and Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clements, J. Clancy 2012. 'The Spanish-based creoles', in: José Ignacio Hualde, Antxón Olarréa & Erin O'Rourke (eds), *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 27–46.
- Díaz-Campos, Manuel 2011. *The Handbook of Hispanic Sociolinguistics*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Lipski, John M. 1994. *Latin American Spanish*. London: Longman.
- Lipski, John M. 2005. *A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five Centuries, Five Continents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Penny, Ralph 2002[1991]. *A History of the Spanish Language*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen 1997. *Spanish in Four Continents: Studies in Language Contact and Bilingualism*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

## 12 Journals

The following is a brief list of journals which are likely to contain articles on varieties of English. Some are dedicated entirely to this field, for example *English World-Wide* or *Language Variation and Change*, while others have a more general remit which includes varieties, for example, *Journal of Linguistics* or *English Language and Linguistics*.

- American Speech* A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage, Tuscaloosa, AL, 1925/26–  
*Anthropological Linguistics*, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1959–  
*Canadian Journal of Linguistics / La Revue Canadienne de Linguistique*, Toronto, 1954/5–  
*Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, Berlin, 2005–  
*Diachronica* International Journal for Historical Linguistics, 1984–  
*English Language and Linguistics*, Cambridge, 1997–  
*English Studies* A Journal of English Language and Literature, Lisse, 1919–  
*English Today* The International Review of the English Language, Cambridge, 1985–  
*English World-Wide* A Journal of Varieties of English, Amsterdam, 1980–  
*Folia Linguistica* Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae, Berlin, 1967–  
*International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, Amsterdam, 1996–  
*International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Berlin, 1974–  
*Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, Amsterdam, 1997–  
*Journal of English Linguistics*, Athens, GA, 1967–  
*Journal of Linguistics*, Cambridge, 1965–  
*Journal of Phonetics*, London, 1973–  
*Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, Amsterdam  
*Journal of Pragmatics*, Amsterdam, 1977–  
*Journal of Sociolinguistics*, Oxford, 1997–  
*Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, London, 1971–  
*Language* Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, MD, 1925–  
*Language in Society*, Cambridge, 1972–  
*Language Variation and Change*, Cambridge, 1989–  
*World Englishes*, Oxford, 1981–